

"I thought it would be heaven":

MIGRATION, GENDER, AND COMMUNITY
AMONGST OVERSEAS TONGANS

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this thesis is my own original work. It does not incorporate any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any other University or institution. To the best of my knowledge all material previously published or written by another person that is referred to in this thesis is duly acknowledged in the appropriate places in the text.

Signed : 

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores three inter-connecting themes concerning the migration of Tongan women to Australia: the character of international migration, the gendering of migration and cultural processes, and the concept of an overseas Tongan community in the multicultural society of Australia. These themes are explored with 'first generation' migrants in the Canberra-Queanbeyan region of Australia.

After following women from their home country of Tonga to the host country of Australia, the thesis describes aspects of Tongans' lives overseas in which the continual processes of acceptance, negotiation and resistance to new cultural forms and practices unfold. Central to these complex processes is the Tongans' use of a fundamental opposition in describing and measuring cultural difference: that of being Tongan or *pālangi* (European or Western). However this distinction is not a simple one, as over time Tongans devise their own interpretations of tradition, and legitimise Western items and concepts into Tongan frames of reference. In other words, Western things can become Tongan.

Yet Tongan women feel the heavy weight of their cultural responsibilities in the overseas context, as expected in community life and fostered by the character of state multicultural policies. Most adjust accordingly with remarkable resourcefulness. While many Tongans express a clear understanding of their own versions of cultural identity as Tongans in Australia – the considerable variance of which is not always apparent in ethnic community contexts – it is difficult to sustain Tongan lifestyles overseas, leading people to question how one should 'be Tongan' in Australia. Moreover, many Tongans struggle to understand and nurture the cultural identities of their children. Women as mothers have a particular concern in this regard, as it is largely their responsibility to guide children in culturally appropriate behaviour.

By highlighting the binary of migration in culture and culture in migration, the thesis challenges some recurring perceptions, assumptions and descriptions in the literature of Pacific migration and women in migration, noting the importance of specificity in such research. Visual media are also employed as both a research tool and as a medium of expression.

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In the first year of my research I spent a considerable period of time explaining that I did not work for Immigration. At the time I was employed elsewhere. Then, by fate rather than by design, part-way through the thesis I was offered a position in the then Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Concerned that it would all be over and that I would lose much of the trust that we had built up, I immediately advised all of the people I could in the community of my change of employment, and asked if it posed a problem for them. Fortunately I was far more concerned than I needed to be, as my new-found contacts congratulated rather than spurned me. For this I am grateful, but it is perhaps supported by the fact that my research interest has always focused on Tongan permanent residents and citizens of Australia, who happen to live in Canberra. At this point I should emphasise that while I am still employed by the Department in Canberra, all of the views expressed in this thesis are mine, and in no way are they intended to reflect those of the now Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs.

Late in 1997 I was overwhelmed to receive a very special gift of 'modern' *ngatu* made by some of the Tongan women in Canberra and presented to me at a gathering to mark of the first *ngatu*-making exercise ever to take place in Canberra (described in Chapter six). The design on the thesis title page was reproduced from this piece of

ngatu. I thank the Tongan arts and crafts group for thinking of me when making their presentations of *ngatu* on this special day, especially to Luti Laipato who had toiled until the early hours of the morning to ensure it was completed in time.

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¹ For Sione’s own account of his early life in Tonga, his pursuit of educational opportunities, his move from Tonga to Canberra, and the path he subsequently followed when developing his career as the first Tongan-born professional historian, see Lātūkefu (1992).

GLOSSARY

anga	-	behaviour
anga fakapālangi	-	the Western way
anga fakatonga	-	the Tongan way
fahu	-	'above the law'; rights pertaining to the FEZ and her descendants over her brother and his descendants
faikava	-	kava ceremony
fakaenofo	-	as a community; pertaining to the community
fakapale	-	'to give prize to'; to present gifts to a dancer in admiration and acknowledgment of their dancing skill
faka'apa'apa	-	respect
fāfili	-	family
fatongia	-	duty
fa'ahinga	-	next highest level of organisation above the household headed by the 'ulumotu'a
feta'aki	-	pieces of beaten bast; unmarked barked cloth
fetokoni'aki	-	helping each other; sharing of things
fie ma'olunga	-	high aspirations or behaviour; getting above oneself
fie pālangi	-	behaving as if one were pālangi
fuatanga	-	length of ngatu of ten sections
ha'a	-	aristocratic or titular lineages
hiapo	-	paper mulberry tree (<i>Broussonetia papyrifera</i>)
hou'eiki	-	pl. of 'eiki; those of chiefly, royal or noble birth
hulohula	-	disco dancing night
kāinga	-	an individual's cognate kin; relatives; supporters
kakai 'o e kolo	-	people collectively inhabiting a village, town or city
kalapu	-	group of people; form of fundraising through the sale of kava
kati(s)	-	to shuffle the cards; raffle(s); a raffle of items involving the use of cards
kautaha	-	working group of women
kava	-	drink made from the crushed roots of the plant <i>Piper methysticum</i> mixed with water
kavenga	-	obligation
koka	-	red cedar dye used for decorating ngatu
koka'anga	-	gathering to make ngatu
koloa	-	treasure; wealth; objects of traditional value
koniseti	-	concert

kupesi	-	stamp-like object used to decorate bark cloth; pattern
langanga	-	sections of ngatu marked by lines
laukolo tupu'anga	-	assertion of one's birthplace
launima	-	length of ngatu of fifty sections
lau'eiki	-	assertion of chiefly status
loto foaki	-	generosity
lotu	-	to worship or pray; prayer; church service
mahoa'a	-	Polynesian arrowroot
matāpule	-	chief's attendant and spokesman
mehekitanga	-	father's eldest sister
misinale	-	(fakamisinale); from 'missionary'; annual church service and related functions in which money is collected for church work.
movetevete e 'u siasi	-	disintegration of churches
ngatu	-	decorated cloth made from paper mulberry bark (tapa); (see variations: ngatu Tonga; half-caste ngatu; ngatu palangi; ngatu paper, described in the thesis)
ngāue	-	work
pālāngi (papālāngi)	-	foreigner; usually European; Western
papa koka'anga	-	half-cylinder low wooden table on which to make ngatu
poto	-	socially competent
talangofua	-	obedience
tala'ova	-	reporting of overstayers
tapa	-	cloth made from paper mulberry bark; bark cloth
tau'atāina	-	freedom, independence
tau'olunga	-	dance performed by girls
tongo	-	species of mangrove used for dyeing ngatu
tou'a	-	a person whose duty it is to prepare kava
tu'a	-	commoner; one of common birth; non-chiefly people
tu'I	-	line of paramounts
tutu	-	beaten strips of paper mulberry bark
'api	-	household; homesteads
'eiki	-	<i>sing.</i> or short form of hou'eiki; of chiefly, noble, or royal rank
'ofa	-	love
'otai	-	fruit punch drink
'ulu	-	head with authority over the 'api
'ulumotu'a	-	principal head of the family; 'old man'
'umu	-	earth oven; brand name of cardboard packing boxes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
GLOSSARY	iv
CHAPTER ONE	INTRODUCTION
	1
	From Theory to Fieldwork
	1
	Methodology
	8
	Photography in Fieldwork
	12
	Canberra as a Site for Fieldwork
	16
	Thesis Outline
	19
CHAPTER TWO	FROM HOME TO HOST: A REVIEW OF GENDERED MIGRATION
	24
	Origins of a Literature on Women and Migration
	25
	Female Migration
	26
	Leaving Home: Women in Migration
	31
	The Gendering of Migration
	43
	Settlement in the 'Host' Country - Australia
	47
	Towards an Analytical Approach to Women and Migration
	53
	Where to Now?
	54
CHAPTER THREE	TONGAN MIGRATION & THE BORDERS OF CULTURE
	58
	Understanding the Polynesian Diaspora
	59
	Migration in culture
	70
	Culture in migration
	83
	Conclusion
	90
CHAPTER FOUR	TONGAN MIGRATION AND GENDER IN CANBERRA
	95
	The Decision to Migrate
	97
	Migration Pattern
	102
	What Did They Expect?
	106
	Initial Settlement Assistance
	107
	Contact with Tonga
	109
	Reasons for Migrating
	114
	Intention to Return to Tonga
	117
	Perceptions of Australia and Tonga
	119
	Temporary Residents, Visitors and Students
	120
	Tongans in Australia
	122
	Future Migration Trends
	125
CHAPTER FIVE	IDENTIFYING THE TONGAN COMMUNITY IN CANBERRA
	127
	Tongans in Canberra
	128
	The Assumption of Community
	156
	A Gendered Community
	164
	Community and Identity
	185
	Conclusion
	191
CHAPTER SIX	HERE, WE GO 'ROUND THE MULBERRY BUSH: GENDER AND CULTURE IN THE TONGAN DIASPORA
	197
	Redefining <i>Ngatu</i> in Australia: the <i>Koka'anga</i> in Canberra
	197
	Gender and Culture: Women's Products in Canberra
	209
	Influences of Nation and State
	219
	Representation and Voice
	223

	PAGE
CHAPTER SEVEN	
CONCLUSION: HOME, HOST AND HEAVEN	230
Suggestions for Further Research	231
Epilogue: The Voyage Continues	234
APPENDICES	
1. Survey	235
2. Migration and Temporary Entry Statistics	239
3. Constitution of the Tongan Association 1993	245
4. Constitution of the Tongan Association (Amended) 1994	253
5. Tongan Chronicle article	260
BIBLIOGRAPHY	261
LIST OF MAPS	
1. Location of the ACT and Queanbeyan in Australia	20
2. Islands of the Pacific Ocean	60
3. Tongan Islands	94
4. Tongan International Migration Flows	124
5. Canberra and Queanbeyan Town Centres	155
LIST OF TABLES	
1. Migrants' role in the decision to migrate	101
2. Migration pattern of Tongans in Canberra	104
3. Who helped you the most when you arrived in Australia?	109
4. How often do you send remittances to Tonga, what form?	110
5. How often do you receive goods from Tonga, what form?	113
6. Reasons offered for migrating to Australia	115
7. Occupation Type and Length of Employment - Men	181
8. Occupation Type and Length of Employment - Women	181
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS	
1. Area near our friends' house where we stayed in Lapaha, July 1994	8
2. The City Uniting Church in Civic	133
3. Tongan Catholic dance group in February 1995	142
4. Tongan Catholics, February 1995	143
5. First Anniversary of the Tongan Association, March 1995	144
6. Children's dance and Tongan display table in October 1995	146
7. Queen Mata'aho at the Hyatt Hotel, August 1997	149
8. Canberra Tongans dancing for the King at <i>Liukava</i> , December 1997	150
9. Graduation Luncheon for the Royal Family at Rydges Hotel, December 1997	151
10. Redefining <i>Ngatu</i> in Australia: the <i>koka'anga</i> in Canberra - photo-essay (19 photographs)	199
11. <i>Ngatu Tonga, ngatu pālāngi, "Half-caste" ngatu and ngatu paper</i>	218

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

From theory to fieldwork

John Connell once wrote:

Despite much research on migration in the South Pacific, there is almost no information relating either to the migration of women (either internally or internationally) or to the impact of migration on women (either those who move or those who stay) or on the societies of emigration. (Connell, 1984:964)

More than a decade later the situation has only marginally improved with respect to Tongan women overseas, despite the continuation of emigration from the region and an ever growing body of information on Pacific migration and migrant women in general. Connell's article was the stimulus for my research on Tongan women as migrants to Australia. I explored issues in the literatures on Pacific migration, migrant women, Tongan culture and overseas communities in the context of the Tongan community of Canberra, Australia.¹ From the start I was struck by the persistence of dichotomies and dualisms pervading such efforts to interpret the phenomenon of migration and the experiences of women. I became concerned at how these risked prescribing rather than describing women's lived realities. My concern is echoed by Jolly's (n.d.:18-19) observations on early Western film-making concerning Polynesian women, in which she noted a tendency to "freeze the fluidity of the subject positions of Polynesian women in terms of such binaries - us/them, indigenous/foreign, tradition/modernity...". I found a similar litany of dualisms in migration studies: traditional/modern, ethnic/mainstream, home/host, dependence/independence,

centre/periphery, and Oceanic/Western. Too rigid a focus on such dichotomies entails a consideration of outcomes or results of migration, as if these were somehow fixed in place and time, while ignoring the processes and relations that have created these perceived states. Moreover the 'either/or' focus of these approaches ignores the possibility that both could coexist with equal validity. Of course in recent years considerable advances have been made beyond such categorical approaches, and some very creative, insightful research has brought us out of the potential entrapments of modernism, economism, and individualism (Bottomley, 1997:44) (see chapters two and three). Studies of Tongan migration should embrace such advances.

My question then became how to approach to this potentially enormous topic within the scope of a Masters thesis? Like Cowling (1990a:ii), who produced a major work 'on being Tongan' both in Tonga and overseas, I wanted to go beyond a conventional study of a migrant group in a host setting.² However, at the same time I was acutely aware of the paucity of research on Tongans living in Australia and of my desire to go some way towards redressing this imbalance. My response is therefore to 'follow' Tongan women through both their lived experiences of migration and where they might be situated in respect of the literature at various points in their journey. I will highlight the processes of negotiation, acceptance and resistance brought into 'crisis' by the migration of Tongan women (and other Tongans) to Australia.³

In my quest to transcend dichotomous understandings in the literature, I risked overlooking a dualism that was important to Tongan women. This dichotomy covertly and overtly pervades almost every aspect of Tongan life in Australia: that of being Tongan or *pālangi* (Western).⁴ The difference in this dichotomy is that beyond being a Western analytical tool, this is a 'living' dichotomy that is articulated by the Tongans themselves in their process of accepting, negotiating and resisting aspects of life and change in Australia. This opposition does not just pertain to life in Australia. It is also

articulated in Tonga, as a way of categorising changes brought about through the media, telecommunications, education, historical processes, linkages through migration, and return migration. In her excellent ethnography of childhood, Morton (1996) noted how Tongans distinguish *anga fakatonga* (the Tongan way), from *anga fakapālangi* (the Western way). Morton wrote:

Anga fakatonga regarded as Tongan tradition, is often contrasted today to *anga fakapālangi* in terms of the old and the new, the indigenous and the foreign (1996:22).

Perhaps further study may reveal that this holds true for Tongans in New Zealand, the United States and Canada.

But this opposition - articulated as such by Tongans in certain contexts - is not as simple as being either Tongan or *pālangi*. As history testifies we need to recognise that some things now considered 'Tongan' were once 'Western', with probably the best example of this being the indigenisation of Christianity in Tonga.⁵ This process of Tongans adopting Western ideas and institutions as part of their culture (such as the monarchical system and education system) has long been recognised by Tongans and scholars of Tongan history, as evident in the frequently used phrase "compromise culture". This phrase was first coined by Marcus (1977:222) to describe "an early, stable complex of institutions, ideas and practices which integrated Tongan culture with a version of European culture". As Morton elaborated, it was during the period of 1900-1970 that much of the current official definition of *anga fakatonga* was established (Morton, 1996:22). The influence of *anga fakatonga* on Tongan socialisation and social organisation has also been well documented (see Cowling (1990a); and Morton (1996), for example).

The significance of the opposition as used in Australia is not in the seeming fixity it suggests, but in its use by Tongans as a commentary and index of change, to the challenges of negotiation, acceptance and resistance. As this thesis will explore, some

examples of negotiation between the Tongan way and the *pālangi* way include: aspects of gender relations overseas; Tongans' ambivalent support of the formally constituted Tongan ethnic association in Canberra; their mixed and highly contextual feelings about their children speaking English or Tongan, or both; and their uncertainty about using *pālangi* modes of receiving high ranking guests (such as Tongan royalty in Canberra). Examples of acceptance might include: Tongans' acceptance of *pālangi* terms and language, such as the increasing use of 'community' in their vocabulary and what this suggests; and their acceptance of *pālangi* goods and resources, such as fabrics and the ochre of house-paint in *ngatu* production. Finally, examples of resistance include: opposition to *pālangi* morals and behaviour,⁶ as exemplified by parents who send their children to Tonga "to face their reality of being a Tongan" when they have misbehaved;⁷ resistance to other Tongans who "do not act like Tongans" or who "act like *pālangis*"; and resistance to *pālangi* law because of economic or cultural survival (such as the act of overstaying).⁸

Being *pālangi*, I initially thought that I might be artificially amplifying this opposition as a result of Tongans explaining things to me in terms that I would understand. For example, Ane, a young Tongan woman, said to me, "we are not like you *pālangis*, you only have your immediate family to look after. With us Tongans it's give, give, give!" At one stage I thought the opposition may not be so prevalent in intra-Tongan conversation as in the way it was presented in dialogue with me. Although the dichotomy may be elaborated in discussion with a *pālangi*, deeper observation suggested that the Tongan/*pālangi* dichotomy is constantly used and is essential to understanding processes of cultural negotiation, acceptance and resistance overseas. We cannot dismiss the significance of the way Tongans distinguish between these two ways of being, and their continuing need to do so.

Moreover Tongans readily distinguish between their different groups in the Tongan nation (explained in chapter three) as being at varying stages of the cross-cultural negotiation in the collective process of Tongan migrants around the world. So one hears comments from Tongans like: "San Francisco Tongans are more conservative than New Zealand Tongans", or "Canberra Tongans are more Tongan than Tongans in Sydney", or the frequently cited favourite "Tongans (anywhere) overseas are more Tongan than the Tongans in Tonga". But one cannot assume that a simple explanation holds; namely of a reassertion of cultural mores by migrants in a host setting. What is more important is the sense of a connectedness to enable these comparisons between Tongans to be made (see chapter three) and, in this, the perpetuation of *anga fakatonga* through what is commonly referred to as the Tongan (social) 'system'.

But we must also note the important tendency to categorise Tongans into groups of differing geographical location. The processes of negotiation, acceptance and resistance are not necessarily group based, nor even geographically based. One cannot generalise about Canberra Tongans, even if they are few in number. As Morton (1998a) recorded in her consideration of cultural identity amongst Tongans in Melbourne, there are differences between Tongans as to who actually is a Tongan and 'how Tongan is a Tongan'. As in Melbourne, for Tongans in Canberra such differences depend on individuals' life experiences and situations, as is evident between early and recent arrivals from Tonga, their level of education, inter-marriage, and rank, for example. However, while Morton (1998b:3-4) dismissed the practical distinction between cultural and ethnic identity in her approach to Tongans in Melbourne, I discern the ultimate challenge in my research in Canberra is understanding how groups are being formed through ethnic identities indigenously conceived in relation to those fostered by the state through multiculturalism. Shifts in cultural identity, collectively interpreted, may cause ethnic identities to split on the grounds of what an

'overseas Tongan' should be. There are linkages between generic Tongan cultural identity and the particular formation of groups based on migrant ethnic identity.

Through Morton's (1996, 1998a, 1998b) work and my evidence from Canberra we will see that what is, or should be, 'Tongan' is variously contested. Yet the measure between Tongan and *pālangi* does not mean that one is necessarily less Tongan because one is more *pālangi*. This risks limiting our understanding of the historical dynamics of the process. Some of what is now Tongan was once considered Western. By accepting a Western way it does not follow that this makes a Tongan less Tongan. To quote Oliver: "...because Tongans learned long ago that the easiest way to remain Tongan is to appear Western" (Oliver 1961, in Morton, 1987:47). To explain this dialectical process I find Sahlins' (1996) concept of *developman* particularly useful. As I discuss in chapter three, *developman* is the development of people who are able to give their own meanings to foreign things. This is how I see the acceptance by Tongans of *pālangi* ways and items, where it does not make one feel less Tongan. On the other hand, resistance or negotiation is required when things have changed too quickly, when things are under threat, are new, or out of control. As Morton (1998b:13) noted *anga fakatonga* can refer to almost anything from "the simplest ordinary activities to the most elaborate ceremonial events". So can *anga fakapālangi*. Sometimes *anga fakapālangi* can refer to what is not-Tongan, without accurately describing what is *pālangi* either. The interpretation of 'being Tongan' can be very personal and contextual. I assume there are some who want to reject what is Tongan to deliberately become more *pālangi* (although I have not yet met any amongst first generation migrants). More likely there are those who, being disillusioned for one reason or another with elements of *anga fakatonga*, want to live as a Tongan in their own way. Others, like Tupou (a woman to whom I will refer throughout the thesis), are not disillusioned at all and still consider themselves Tongan, but by moving to Australia

have cut themselves off from living as a Tongan with other members of the Tongan community. It is important to recognise such differences in situation in relation to different interpretations. (See Morton 1998a, 1998b for treatment of these issues amongst Tongans in Melbourne).

Sometimes the difference is not in being more *pālangi* but rather in not being so involved in the performative aspects of being Tongan overseas, which Linnekin and Poyer (1990) have described as fundamental to understanding Pacific identities.⁹ As they explained:

Regardless of their degree of contact with Western institutions, Oceanic groups are often quite self-conscious and insistent about their identities. Yet...these groups maintain separate cultural identities within pluralistic social environments, and their theories of affiliation consistently emphasise context, situation, performance, and place over biological descent. (Linnekin and Poyer, 1990:11)

This, they suggested, is in contrast to the Western construct of ethnic identity in which:

...people are as they are because they were born to be so...In ethnic ideologies blood, seed, and transmitted substances figure prominently, if not exclusively, in determining an individual's group membership. Ethnicity therefore describes both the Western popular theory of group identity and a theoretical construct developed by Western social scientists. (Linnekin and Poyer, 1990:2)

Indeed, Cowling (1990a:7) further described the importance of events in which "Tongan society represents itself to itself". However in Canberra some Tongans, like Tupou, are more selective in their affiliations, appearing at some Tongan funerals and marriages but not involving themselves in other performances of 'being Tongan' such as fund-raising events. This performative aspect of Tongan cultural identity is sometimes at odds with the more static, ascribed aspect of Tongan ethnic identity in Canberra. Gender is critical in the performative aspect of Tongan cultural identity, especially in relation to women and *koloa* - valuables, wealth, particularly fine mats and *ngatu* (see chapter six). Moreover in a multicultural country like Australia there are other cultural influences on Tongans beyond *pālangi* influence. This is particularly relevant in Tongans' inter-marriage with other non- *pālangi* migrants; in interaction at

work and particularly so for women; and in multicultural public events as in chapter five.

Methodology

My fieldwork began at the end of 1993 when I spent a considerable period of time establishing contacts and getting to know Tongan people in Canberra. Early in the research I travelled to Tonga with my husband, Adrian, for a short visit in July 1994. There we stayed with a friend's family in the village of Lapaha on Tongatapu and briefly in Neiafu, Vava'u. This experience, although very brief, was invaluable. Apart from providing a backdrop from which to consider Tongan migration, to this day I still reflect on the significance of some of the conversations I shared with people at the time about living in Tonga and the migration of family members. I also reflect on playing a small part in the transnational links with Tongans overseas as we took very few personal effects, yet were happily overloaded with items sent to and from our Sydney friend and her family, such as a child's stroller and numerous *'umu* packs of cooked food. We also returned to Tonga at the end of my research in July 1998.



Area near our friends' house where we stayed in Lapaha, July 1994

Upon returning to Canberra I began meeting and interviewing people while preparing a literature review and gathering written data. A preliminary survey (at Appendix 1) provided some background for the research, and a basis for semi-structured interviews which extended beyond these questions.¹⁰ It also provided some useful statistical and qualitative data on migration experiences for comparative analysis. As discussed in chapter five, the total population of Tongans in Canberra is greater than indicated in the official Census (of 160 Tongan-born), and greater than number of Tongan migrants in Canberra, which I have estimated at 131 people (not including those who migrated as young children). Because my primary research interest is Tongan migration, the survey data is therefore based on responses from 44 people (34%) of the Tongan migrant population, comprising 16 men and 28 women spanning 44% of the 87 Tongan migrant households.¹¹ Respondents' backgrounds differ in religious denomination, family, age, socio-economic profile, and time of migration. However, the primary methodology I employed was not interviews and surveys but participant observation: attendance at Tongan gatherings and church services, countless informal visits and discussions with both Tongans and non-Tongans involved in Tongan activities in Canberra and Sydney, and observation of organised multicultural festivities. I also documented the life histories of four Tongan migrant women, whose experiences were different in various ways: age, time of migration, marriage, migration pattern, religion, and family situation. I have given these women the fictitious names of Ane, Tupou (mentioned already), Mafi and Meleane. This fieldwork material was supplemented by statistics from the Australian Census 1996, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' databases,¹² and the Tongan community of Canberra census. Interviews and life histories were tape-recorded wherever possible. Individuals and their words have been disguised with fictitious names or references to protect the identity and privacy of those kind

enough to share their feelings, impressions and experiences with me. Due to their historical significance and absence of confidential information, four names are real and used here with their permission: that of HRH Prince 'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata, HRH Princess Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho, Siosiua Lafitani, and 'Amalani Metuisela (Williams).

My main entry into the Tongan population of Canberra was initiated through the ANU after my supervisor, Dr Jolly, arranged a meeting for me with the late Reverend Dr Sione Latukefu. Being a respected and notable leader of the Tongan community of Canberra, I sought and received his approval of my research and entry into the community. My entry into the Tongan population was then achieved through four paths. Initially, Dr Latukefu gave me a contact name of someone pivotal to the Tongan community, who introduced me to people and helped to set up some initial interviews. Secondly, members of my own extended family and friends were able to assist, such as my uncle giving me the number of a Tongan woman who attended the same church as he; and my sister-in-law providing the number of a young Tongan woman with whom she became acquainted at work. Thirdly, I contacted various churches to find out whether Tongans participated in their activities and services. This proved especially worthwhile with the Catholic church, as they had just completed a conference on culture and church participation. A church official kindly gave me the contact details of a Tongan woman who participated in this conference and allowed me to interview him on his perceptions of the Catholic Tongans in Canberra. Fourthly, through these networks I was sometimes given other contacts and invited to Tongan gatherings where I met more people, thereby expanding and deepening my network. Characteristic in my fieldwork, as for others, I met people through people, coupled with the serendipitous element of being in the right place at the right time. Having multiple points of entry into the Tongan population proved very worthwhile in yielding different insights from various vantage points.

I have already mentioned the possible effects of being a *pālāngi* in relation to the research. A Tongan academic and friend, Siosiua Lafitani, whom I met last year once mentioned to me that Tongans sometimes do not focus on the issue being discussed so much as who is raising it, when, and for what purpose (S. Lafitani, personal communication, 1997). I had too found that this was an important factor in my fieldwork experience. As to be expected, both in Tonga and Australia, as a *pālāngi* I was treated differently to how a Tongan person would have been if conducting this research. By not being aligned with one or another family or group, and by being seemingly unaware of things, I was often trusted with explanations of practices and ideas which may have been assumed to have been already understood by another Tongan. A small example of an advantage of being an outsider was when a woman once pulled me aside from a group of people to confide in me about baskets she was making, which she did not want other Tongans to see as she believed they would copy them. On the other hand, there were other discussions and exchanges that I gained only secondary understanding of (through interpretation) because of my inability to speak Tongan fluently.¹³ Being an outsider, in some contexts I was accorded a certain respect as a *pālāngi*; while in others it was the opposite, because 'the *pālāngi* wouldn't know'. It was even more interesting when some women distinguished me from other *pālāngis* in some contexts as being "one of us". Still on other occasions I did not figure at all, being just a quiet observer on the fringes. I once compared my experiences to Siosiua's, who conducted research in the same community some five years earlier. He described how he was sometimes berated for questioning some Tongans when his family's position or village was considered to be of lesser status than theirs' (S. Lafitani, personal communication, 1997).¹⁴ On the other hand his being a Tongan provided a depth of understanding that I certainly could not have attained in the circumstances of this research, if at all. Being or not being a Tongan is perhaps

becoming a more salient criterion for researchers analysing Tongan cultural identity in particular. Morton (1998b) reports at least one Tongan expressing such views in her research in Melbourne. Being Tongan in order to understand what it is to be a Tongan migrant may pose a challenge to one's right to conduct research.¹⁵ However I have been encouraged to undertake this research by Canberra Tongans themselves, some of whom have expressed their wish to see these elements of their history documented and given the attention they believe they deserve. Similarly, I received very encouraging feedback from Tongan participants based at other locations after presenting a paper on aspects of this research at a recent conference (Reardon Finney, 1998).

Photography in fieldwork

Numerous photographs have been included throughout this thesis, partly for illustrative purposes, partly as "visual data" (see Ball and Smith 1992), and partly to reflect the importance of photography as a research tool.¹⁶ My husband, Adrian, is a photographer and he sometimes accompanied me during my research. His photographs provided the important if intangible insights I refer to here.

Photography unexpectedly influenced my fieldwork in four important ways. Firstly, as a *pālāngi* with no discernible link to Tonga apart from that of academic interest, I found that photographs provided a form of connection between myself, Tonga, and the Tongan people of Canberra. When I first began contacting people in Canberra I was invariably asked, or mentioned myself, that I had recently visited Tonga. After the positive responses this generated, I soon found myself taking along albums of our photographs from Tonga and poring over them with people I was interviewing.¹⁷

Secondly, photographs sometimes assumed the role of questions. "Tongans love photographs" (I was frequently reminded), and people's reactions and responses to photographs provided ample opportunities to learn about events, people, tensions and sensitivities, that I could not have approached through verbal questions. As visual prompts, photographs yielded a spontaneity of responses and non-verbal communications that helped me overcome the barriers of spoken language. Responses included: an explanation of the role a person played in the community; a personal history of their relationship to the person; complimentary and mocking comments on each other's personal appearance, behaviour, captured gestures, children, and their physical positioning with others. One woman particularly liked a photograph of herself because she was standing next to a woman of chiefly status. A mother commented favourably on a photograph of her daughter (whose mother is Tongan but not her father) because she "looks Tongan". Beyond passing references to such responses I have not analysed them in great detail here. This rather suggests the need for a further study, which perhaps I will pursue in the future (see Reardon Finney, 1998).

Thirdly, photography assumed great significance much later in the fieldwork in mid 1997 when Adrian was asked by the Tongan women's fellowship to photograph the visit of Her Majesty Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho to Canberra. With Adrian as photographer other opportunities followed, such as photographing the graduation of His Royal Highness Prince 'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata; the week-long visit to Canberra of the King and Queen of Tonga and members of the royal family; as well as royal family portraits. While in these photographic situations I was present as Adrian's 'photographic assistant, amateur videographer, and person doing a study on Canberra Tongans', I gained access and insights into people, processes and interactions that I otherwise would have only witnessed as 'one of the crowd', if at all.

Both of us being *pālangi* was also significant in relation to photography. We were often told how fortunate we were to be *pālangis* during formal, public occasions when royalty was present, as Adrian in particular could move around more freely and move closer to members of the royal family to shoot photographs than a Tongan guest could or should.¹⁸ A visitor from Sydney once lamented to Adrian that because he was a Tongan he could only shoot photographs of the royal family from a greater distance and 'on bended knee', thereby making a 'good shot' difficult to obtain. A corollary of this was a point made by a member of the royal family who, when viewing some photographs, commented to me how wonderful it is to have the opportunity through photographs to actually see who attended a function, where they were seated, and with whom they were seated. The spatial distance between those considered '*eiki*' (chiefly) and '*tu'a*' (commoner) in the public sphere of events such as a royal luncheon did not afford such an overall view. The photograph seemed to form an alternative connection between the two spaces, albeit after the event.

The final influence of photography was probably best articulated by Cowling (1990a:107, 353) and Morton (1996:154-55) who both described the importance of still photography and videography to Tongans as a way of celebrating kin and maintaining transnational linkages through the diaspora. Cowling wrote of households in Tonga:

Numbers of photograph albums may also be prominently displayed so that any visitor may take these up to see the family history recorded in this way. Baptism and parties, weddings, deathbeds, funerals, farewells and, most importantly, photographs of migrant members of the family are carefully examined by every visitor, even if they have seen them many times before (1990a:107).

Tongans are utilising video the way they have utilised still photography. It is a way of commemorating kin and kin relations (1990a:353).

Morton (1996:154-55) similarly concluded:

Home movies are very popular, and Tongan residents and their relatives overseas often send videos of important events to each other. This seems to contribute more to sustaining the ties between them than do letters or phone calls...The viewers can watch together and in an important sense participate together in the events they witness. Such occasions are also a context for instructing children on kinship, tradition, cultural values and so on, as the people and the events they observe are explained and interpreted for them.

I too witnessed similar reactions and parallel importance placed on the visual records Adrian and I shot amongst Tongans in Canberra. In fact, towards the end of the research we became inundated with requests for hundreds of copies of photographs of kin members and others at significant events, when people discovered that we had them.¹⁹ What was to me a form of 'visual data' thus became for them gifts for relatives in Tonga, and part of family histories proudly displayed in Tongan lounge rooms across Canberra. Similarly, copies of the amateur videos I recorded of speeches and events for later transcribing and analysis became popular gifts for relatives elsewhere in Australia and overseas, or used for group viewing in Canberra. Indeed, even when we were in Tonga I was asked to pose with family members next to a lavishly decorated graveside while Adrian was asked to take photographs of us, so we could take these back to our friend in Sydney to show her how well the grave was being kept.²⁰ The grave was that of her recently deceased brother. At that time we were so concerned about appearing disrespectful to the deceased while obliging with their request, we had little idea of the significance it had for the family. In Canberra, apart from those occasions when Adrian photographed significant events, I once shot my own photographs of the *koka'anga* and *ngatu* display (see chapter six), where it was neither appropriate nor possible for Adrian to attend. Armed with one of his cameras on 'automatic', I found that photographing the production of *ngatu* by some of the women further marked this exciting occasion, when Tongan women in Canberra made *ngatu* for the first time.²¹

Canberra as a Site for Fieldwork

Apart from my general desire to do research into an overseas Tongan community, I chose Canberra as a site for fieldwork primarily out of necessity due to my full-time employment commitments. I am currently employed at the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. Being employed by the Department for over three years in different areas of its work I have relished this opportunity to learn more about migration at a state level, including how the state deals with issues identified by individuals and academic debate, and to realise the extent to which the state can impact on people's lives. While I was originally employed elsewhere when I began, for most of the research and the duration of writing I have nevertheless had one foot in each place - working full-time in a state bureaucracy by day; while at nights, weekends and during holidays, being a participant observer in the Tongan community of Canberra. This positioning had the potential to be problematic, given the obvious sensitivities of an 'immigration officer' conducting research into a migrant community. However, it did not become an issue. One reason was that I had met a number of people in the community prior to commencing employment in the Department, enabling me to build up a certain level of familiarity and trust. Secondly, as soon as I commenced my employment I informed those people and asked if it posed a problem for them. Fortunately the answer was no (although there were a couple I met much later who seemed a little uncomfortable). I have always clearly distinguished the purpose of this research from my work at the Department. Thirdly, and most importantly, my research interest has always and only been on Tongan permanent residents and Australian citizens who have migrated permanently to Australia. Any interest in temporary residents (including those who do not return home in time) has only been in relation to their effect on permanent residents and their frequent lack of distinction from permanent migrants in the literature (as discussed in chapters four

and five). Due to my employment commitments, both the research and writing were completed on a part-time basis.

Because the research was conducted on a part-time basis in an environment where the Tongan presence is far more elusive than in Tonga, the 'fieldwork' was more prolonged. Moreover the boundary between the start and finish of 'fieldwork' was blurred. Rather than the anthropologist 'going to the field', it was more a case of the field coming to the anthropologist. However, as in Clifford's analysis of 'fieldwork', we can see that some of the very questions I later pose in this thesis – concerning migration, gender and community – were relevant from the beginning of my research. Indeed what is 'the field'? Clifford linked the contested concept of fieldwork, characterised by the spatial practices of travel and dwelling, to the historical "identity" of sociocultural anthropology (1997:89). He questioned the spatial separation required in the home/field dichotomy of fieldwork, with reference to examples of "subway ethnography". Rather than "bounded" and distant, Clifford saw the field as a "professional habitus", in which fieldwork was less "a discrete, other place than a set of embodied research practices, patterns of discretion, of professional distance, of coming and going" (1997:90). Such indicators of 'fieldwork' have certainly characterised my research in Canberra.

This fieldwork experience, however described, created its own challenges: trying to find Tongans, and then living a dual life (of full-time work and part-time research), one in which I was often taught by Tongans the significance of 'Tongan time' when arranging fieldwork.²² While this situation precluded me from residing with a Tongan family in close proximity to others, and from being able to distance myself from my own everyday life, I found that other benefits emerged from this approach. Ironically, in some ways it was a more appropriate experience for this kind of research, as to a certain extent some Tongans lived the way I did – working in Canberra by day and

being with Tongans by night.²³ Also, this prolonged experience afforded a longer temporal view and an accumulation of trust between us in the dispersed and dislocated *pālangi*-dominated environment of Canberra.

Canberra is a rather unusual city. It is both the capital city of Australia and the only city located in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) (see map on page 20). As a result, it is the seat of Government in Australia with two levels of government, the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia and the ACT Legislative Assembly (ACT Government, 1997:41). Once referred to as the 'bush capital' by local politicians and the media, its regional, inland location means that it has no harbour, or direct international flight service. The city has been planned in such a way as to avoid crowding by devolving into four major town centres - Belconnen, Civic, Woden and Tuggeranong. A fifth town centre, Gungahlin, is still being developed (ACT Government, 1997:41). With a population of 299,000, Canberra embraces a culturally diverse mix of people, including around 65 different ethnic groups organised into nearly 170 formal associations, even though some may consider that it is visibly dominated by *pālangis*. My references to the Tongan community of Canberra also include the Tongans of Queanbeyan, a city approximately 10km south-east of central Canberra across the ACT border into the state of New South Wales, with a population of 25,689 (ABS, 1998a). Compared to the ACT's figure of 22%, the percentage of overseas born people living in Queanbeyan is 14%. The 1996 Census of Population and Housing found that 27.9% of the Canberra-Queanbeyan labour force have a degree or higher qualification, the highest result for any Australian capital city. (ABS, 1998b:18). Further results indicate that only 2% of the ACT workforce (and 4.5% of Queanbeyan's) are employed in labouring or related fields, with higher employment rates being found in manufacturing, retail, property and business services (23.8% and 15% respectively), and managerial, administrative and professional occupations (18.5%

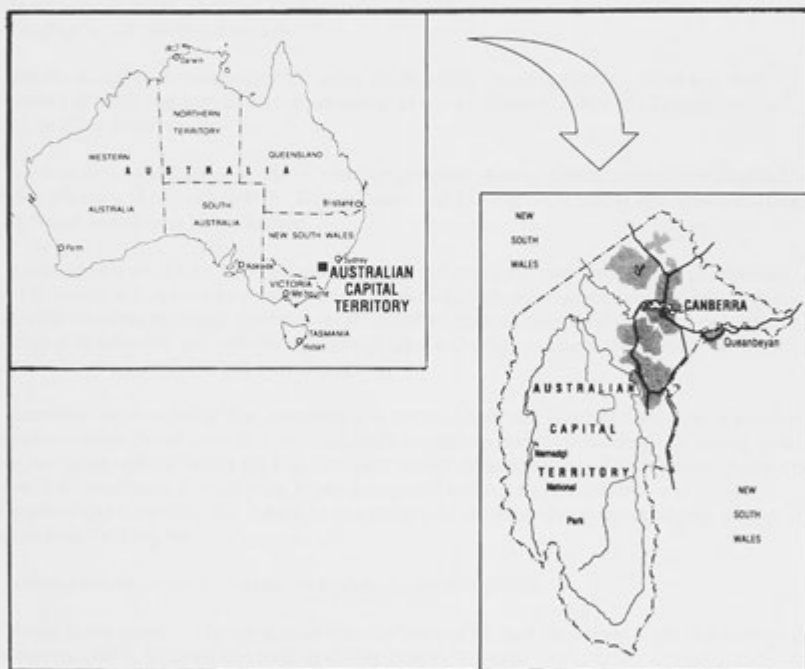
and 8% respectively). The unemployment rate for the ACT is around 7.3%, and 9% for Queanbeyan (ABS, 1998a).

Thesis outline

This thesis is about Tongan migration, gender and community amongst the Tongans of Canberra, with a focus on Tongan women as migrants to Australia. Successive chapters explore these three interconnected themes. Each chapter attempts to highlight processes and interactions in experience, such as the tensions between the fluidity and fixity of Tongan migration and cultural forms and the boundaries they inevitably cross; and on occasions when the Tongan 'way' meets the Australian 'way'. A central theme throughout is how the Tongans use the Tongan/*pālāngi* opposition to articulate their understanding of these processes of interaction.

The following chapter reviews the literature on female migration (or gendered migration) in the context of 'home' and 'host' settings. Highlighted here is not just this dichotomy but other dualisms and stereotypes that continue to pervade considerations of gender and migration, even in the most recent sophisticated writing. Chapter three questions the boundaries implicit in perceptions of the Pacific diasporas, of ethnicity and cultural identity, and considers the influence of the state on such boundaries. By using the conceptual couplet of migration in culture and culture in migration, I develop an approach to Tongan migration to Canberra. Chapter four examines Tongan migration and gender in Australia by considering aspects of life histories and survey responses from Canberra in relation to wider perceptions of Tongan and Pacific migrants in Australia. Chapter five seeks to 'identify' the Tongan community of Canberra by firstly offering a descriptive account of their settlement and growth as a community; then secondly, with some irony, questioning the very assumption of 'community' and how it is gendered, before finally considering the problematic

relations of cultural and ethnic identities. Chapter six explores an example of how Tongan women as migrants to Australia are responding to the challenges of 'being Tongan' in the diaspora through their innovative developments in producing *ngatu*. I relate this to broader issues faced by Tongan women as migrants, such as the influences of nation and state, and representation and voice. Finally, chapter seven concludes by offering suggestions for further research.



Location of the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) and Queanbeyan in Australia

Source: ACT Mapping Office, ACT Government (1997:44)

¹ While reference is made to the Tongan community of Canberra, this study also includes Tongans resident in Queanbeyan as discussed later in the chapter.

² Cowling's thesis is one example of an insightful approach to Tongan migration from which we can learn. Her approach successfully revealed the linkages, complexities and subtleties in Tongan culture and migration. Her main focus, however, was Tonga-based, with insightful references to emigration and to Tongans in Sydney. I hope to follow her pioneering efforts to provide further information in an 'overseas' context.

³ A framework that has influenced my approach is drawn from the seminal work of Chandra Jayawardena (1968, cited in Clarke, Peach and Vertovec, 1990:5). This framework suggests five factors (adapted here) which Jayawardena originally considered as variables influencing socio-cultural change among South Asians overseas: type of migration; extent of ties with (Tonga); economic activity in the new context; geographic features of settlement; and infrastructures of the host society.

⁴ *Pālāngi* (previously, or more formally, *papālāngi*), is the Tongan term for foreigners, namely Western or European people. Churchward (1959:403) defined *papālāngi* as "European (person) belonging to any white-skinned race."

⁵ See, for example: Latukeyu (1974), Gailey (1980, 1987), Cowling (1990a). Note also that Morton (1996:22) mentioned the interweaving of other influences into early Tongan culture, such as Fijian and Samoan.

⁶ For further consideration of *pālāngi* and Tongan child rearing differences in New Zealand, see Helen Mavoa's MA thesis (1997), "Taking Turns and Talking Back: Social Interaction in Tongan and Palagi Families in New Zealand".

⁷ Although it should be acknowledged here that this is not the only reason why children are sent to Tonga to live for a few years. Other reasons include a genuine interest in maintaining ties with relatives overseas, the desire of the children themselves to learn more about their culture and relatives; and sometimes a desire for the children to know the best of both lifestyles, not necessarily a denial of one over the other.

⁸ However I acknowledge that overstaying is not as simple as a flagrant disregard or resistance to *pālāngi* ways. Sometimes it is unintentional; sometimes it is not considered as wrong when they are helping their family (as I discuss later the moral justification of this as well); while other times it is considered a small price to pay compared to the conditions of living in Tonga. Nevertheless I have included it here as an example of resistance for those occasions when it is felt as such by Tongans.

⁹ Although their premise was subject to debate, see Jolly (1992).

¹⁰ Some of the questions in my survey were influenced by, and/or drawn from, the surveys of Bottomley (1979), Connell and McCall (1989), and Va'a (1995).

¹¹ I surveyed many more people than those included in the final analysis here. In the final compilation I excluded many surveys primarily due to respondents' age of migration, and/or residency status in Australia. Instead, their interviews and surveys informed some other parts of the thesis. The predominance of female respondents is reflective of my primary focus on women. Chapter five further describes the Tongan population of Canberra and their household characteristics.

¹² Provided by, and used here with the permission of the relevant areas of the Department.

¹³ When in Tonga, after learning some Tongan words and phrases from my friend's mother who could not speak English, I purchased a set of Tongan language tapes and an instruction book to teach myself the language upon returning to Australia. Unfortunately, time limits, work and other circumstances made it almost impossible to learn the language quickly and to a functional level for fieldwork purposes. I soon realised that the Canberra Tongan language school would benefit far more from the instruction book, so I gave it to them to use.

Fortunately, most of the Tongans in Canberra speak English and enabled me to carry out the fieldwork with no need for an interpreter. On formal occasions I obtained translations of discussions and speeches delivered in Tongan. The discussions that I missed through language barriers, or heard through ad hoc interpretations, were those occasional informal discussions between Tongan-speaking people when I was present. It was at those times that I wished I could have understood more.

¹⁴ In his thesis Lafitani referred to three early migrants to Canberra who questioned him about his village of origin in Tonga and his length of time in Canberra, and subsequently declined to be interviewed by him (1992:73).

¹⁵ See Clifford who acknowledged that neither intensive fieldwork nor cultural knowledge as "insiders" produces privileged or complete understandings (1997:91).

¹⁶ Ball and Smith (1992) decried the use of photographs in ethnographic reports for merely illustrative purposes, and encouraged anthropologists and others to use photographs as serious sources of data worthy of analysis in themselves. As described above, my use of photographs has three purposes.

¹⁷ Sometimes this became quite an emotional experience for some people. On one occasion a man pointed to a spot on a photograph of Vava'u and, with a tear in his eye, explained to me that 'next to that mango tree' was where his wife's mother was born and that this was the first time he had seen it again in years. The spot had now been built over.

¹⁸ This, of course, was done with the permission of relevant people and while always displaying appropriate respectful behaviour to the royal party.

¹⁹ Due to the overwhelming number of requests for photographs we received, Adrian arranged for reprints to be done for people by a professional photographic laboratory.

²⁰ In Tongan cemeteries it is common to see graves brightly decorated with lengths of fabric, white sand, and upturned empty beer and softdrink bottles, for example. Cowling (1990a:66) noted that grave decoration, as part of Tongan funeral rites and associated customs, was an important aspect of identity maintenance.

²¹ While I have discussed the benefits of photography in fieldwork, the only disadvantage I later discovered with photography was when it seemed to overtake my fieldwork at one point. I concluded that this was a direct result of doing fieldwork in Australia. During this particular period I found myself amongst Tongans who did not know me before, or who had not been interviewed by me for a long time. They seemed to perceive me as a photographer of Tongan activities (through being associated with Adrian), and therefore found it a little strange when I wanted to discuss aspects of Tongan migration with them. This, coupled with those few people I met later who saw me firstly as an immigration officer and secondly as an anthropologist, meant that I had to devote some energies into re-positioning myself again in the community.

²² The nature of fieldwork in Canberra was that often events, interviews and other gatherings were arranged at set times and places - such as interviewing respondents when they finished work, attending ethnic Association meetings, or barbecues on weekends. On numerous occasions people apologised or joked about 'Tongan time', saying that this was a part of 'being Tongan' that I would have to get used to - as they were - when people were not where they were supposed to be, or when events commenced later than expected. An example was a Tongan church community picnic by the river which was due to commence at 12.00 noon, but there was no sign of anyone until around 4.00pm. Apart from the challenges of having to frequently abandon my fieldwork plans, I personally found it relaxing, such as when a group I once waited with produced a ukulele and began singing while others gradually arrived. As Lafitani explained, "time for the Tongans is something that should be controlled by themselves not vice versa" (1992:58).

²³ Cowling similarly described the dual lives of some Tongans in Sydney who, for example, work in the factory during the week and on Sundays become Chairman of a Tongan church congregation (1990a:339). However, I am not suggesting the existence of a "two cultures" mentality as discussed in chapter two. Rather, this is the way some Tongans have negotiated their conditions of existence in Canberra.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM HOME TO HOST: A REVIEW OF GENDERED MIGRATION

Here I review some of the key developments in the literature on women and migration. Much of this literature is embedded in wider bodies of literature, spanning anthropology, sociology, migration, community development and feminism, to name a few. In tracing developments in the literature, I have adopted an approach that is loosely historical, noting that the history of analyses on women and migration really only originated some twenty years ago (notwithstanding earlier reflections in history and literature).

The chapter will trace shifts in emphasis in the literature as they tend to follow the women involved, from their 'home' country or place of origin, to the 'host' country into which they enter as migrants, finally 'settling' in Australia. Through this process I endeavour to highlight recurring dichotomies and dualisms as they emerge over time. Indeed, the chapter itself is deliberately structured around the fundamental binary of migration - that of moving from the 'home' to 'host' environments - and the concomitant conclusions that have been drawn by scholars about the process. The significance of the home/host dichotomy becomes apparent later in the chapter when I problematise 'the community' into which women migrate. Throughout the chapter, differing representations of women as migrants emerge. I describe female migrants as emerging from almost textual invisibility into a series of 'types' which ultimately effect their disappearance again in the host environment of Australia.

A conclusion drawn from this review is that discussions in the literature have advanced from arguing whether there is any value in considering women in migration analysis; to promoting an awareness of the influences and particular issues experienced by women through migration; followed by consideration of how best to articulate the experiences of women in migration. Apropos this last concern there is constant debate in the literature about how to represent migrant women's issues without typing the women themselves. Through these developments, I will describe how the literature on women in migration tends to shift in focus from discussions of women in migration vis-à-vis men in migration, to women in migration vis-à-vis other women, to women in migration vis-à-vis the host state.

This review of the literature assumes a focus on international migration, involving voluntary, permanent migration from one country to another.²⁴ The review also focuses on those women who actually migrated, not those who were 'left behind'. While I recognise that there is also an extensive body of literature on the effects of migration on women 'at home', consideration of this is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, I will draw on some works about women in Tonga in later chapters.

Origins of a Literature on Women and Migration

Prior to the early 1970s, women were almost invisible in migration research. They were generally subsumed under stereotypical categories as dependants or followers of (male) migrants, or seen as secondary to the primary focus of research (Morokvasic, 1983:19). Some have suggested that the invisibility of female migration was a reflection that women were not perceived as a threat with respect to employment in some host countries (Tyner, 1994:608). Morokvasic (1983:19)

highlighted two factors in the emergence of a literature on migrant women from the mid-1970s:

- (i) a wider feminist questioning about women's role in society; and
- (ii) recognition of migrant women as economically important.

The birth of a literature on women in migration, from the 1970s onwards, raised a range of questions that anthropologists and others posed and debated in earlier years: Why should migrant women be studied? How should migrant women be studied? Is there any point in distinguishing women from men in migration?

Female Migration

In her review of literature "around" female migration, Chant (1992:200, and her co-author Radcliffe, 1992:19-24) identified four theoretical approaches to female migration:

- (i) Neo-classical/equilibrium approaches - that emphasise the spatial distribution of labour markets and tend to assume male and female motivations for migration are similar, except when an 'extra' influence may act on female migrant populations, such as the availability of marriage partners;
- (ii) Behavioural approaches - that are more sensitive to ideological and cultural constructs that influence men and women's position in, and responses to, changing socio-economic circumstances. Chant and Radcliffe (1992) described examples of these approaches which recognise the important role women play in various economic sectors, while acknowledging that their economic participation and mobility are at the same time shaped by cultural constraints and class differences;

(iii) Structuralist approaches - that generate more global perspectives in the general concern to understand the constantly evolving transformations in production relations and locations. These approaches have given rise to studies of the impact of changing gender divisions of labour and the relationship between shifts in the world economy and the emergence of gender-differentiated mobility; and

(iv) Household strategies approaches - that recognise that tasks associated with household maintenance (reproduction) are as crucial as wage labour opportunities in explaining gender-differentiated migration. In these, female migration experiences are determined by both intra-household resource and decision-making structures and by the socially determined, gender-segregated labour markets available to them.

Chant (1992:202) suggested that the household strategies approach was "the most fruitful basis from which to elaborate future concepts and methodologies for gender-selective mobility." In her analysis she considered neo-classical approaches to be inadequate in illuminating why men's and women's mobility often assumes such different forms (1992:201). Structuralist approaches were similarly inadequate in explaining the particular reasons for, or correlates of female (or male) mobility. Finally, Chant assessed the behaviourist approaches as concentrating too heavily on in-depth specificities of given areas, thereby failing to provide an effective tool for comparative research. Examples of these broad approaches will appear within the ensuing discussion, but first I focus on the structuralist approach, as I consider that it was in response to this kind of approach that the study of female migration found legitimacy.

In a special issue of the journal, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 'Women and Migration', Anthony Leeds expressed a particularly strong view which sparked a discussion that became a debate between individualist versus structuralist positions.

Leeds (1976) decried the use of the category 'women' in the analysis of migratory processes as "reductionist and individualistic". The category, "women", was considered by Leeds to be devoid of any scientific content and, at best, only useful contextually. Leeds argued that most migration literature at the time assumed that migration was governed by the motivational states of individuals, with respect to achieving a goal: "...the migration phenomenon is not properly intelligible in terms of individuals at all - let alone an arbitrarily chosen half of them, women" (1976:71). Further, Leeds claimed that because most migration studies undertaken by anthropologists and economists tended to be of the "relatively disinherited of the earth", their focus on economic goals for migration had become erroneously generalised by researchers into the assumption that all migration was basically economic.

Leeds favoured an approach to migration that disclosed the socially determined strategies of individual and group action within social-structural contexts. This, he suggested, would emphasise those situations in which individual motivations may not be operative at all, and rather, where decisions were made by corporate groups or networks. An individualist approach on the other hand, particularly one focused on women only, reduced these structural realities to "epiphenomena derivative of individual action and motivational states" (1976:73). Leeds (1976:74) suggested that the significance of women in migration lies not in the concept of 'femaleness', but in the concept of capitalist labour market discrimination in which being a woman becomes one of the criteria determining the extent of discrimination.

In a later paper, Morokvasic largely supported Leeds' position (1983:14). While noting that denying research on "women" migrants risked ignoring the specific function of gender, Morokvasic nevertheless maintained that the situation of migrant women cannot be analysed in terms of their gender alone. She suggested that the

articulation between class, gender and immigrant status had rarely been considered, as female migration research had tended to focus on gender only. Female migration research which focused on gender relationships, often in isolation from other relationships, had failed to analyse class or the labour process - such as the "worker" status of migrant women being seen as merely a variable in promoting change, rather than a catalyst for class or labour process analysis (1983:23-24). This Morokvasic went on to describe as essential to understanding evidence of double and triple oppression, in which the articulation between the processes of gender discrimination, racial discrimination of migrant workers and class discrimination as the working class makes the position of women particularly vulnerable (1984:891). Around the same time, however, Anthias and Yuval-Davis rejected this approach which they had found to be dominating black feminism (1983:62-63). They highlighted the theoretical and political inadequacies of the mechanical "tagging" of race, gender and class. Rather, they described these divisions as enmeshed, their intersections producing specific effects. Nevertheless in her own work on the subject, Morokvasic described a fourth oppression which was internalised by women themselves, when they accepted this oppression as their fate (1983:26).

Morokvasic thus supported Leeds' criticism of the individualist approach to studying migration, and female migration in particular, stating that migratory processes and their determinants cannot be explained in terms of individual motives and drives (1983:24). This approach, she argued, was evident in the 1970s psycho-culturalist perspective which was prevalent in the majority of works produced in the second half of the decade. In this, Morokvasic said women were assessed as individuals whose behaviour is determined by their psychology and their culture. Examples of such an approach included those who examine migrant women from the perspective of adaptation to the host environment, focusing on change and the

"emancipatory" effects of women's migration. She said that the problem with this approach was the lack of broader theoretical perspective, the lack of comparative approach, and the absence of reference to migrant women's backgrounds (Morokvasic, 1983:20).

Subsequently, Foner claimed that there are occasions when an individualist approach is necessary (1986:134). For example the study of women's migrant status, requires an investigation of how women themselves perceive the migration process and their new situation. Foner argued that by understanding the viewpoint of the women themselves, we may learn that the conditions which appear "oppressive" to outside observers may not appear so to the women involved. Thadani and Todaro also stressed the individual expectations of prospective migrants as important determinants in the migratory process (1984:43). In an attempt to resolve the individualist versus structuralist debate in female migration, Brettell and Simon argued that it is quite possible to successfully move between different levels of analysis and discuss both the broader structural factors influencing labour movements, and personal motivations and views associated with individual migration (1986:5). As for "women" as a category of analysis, Brettell and Simon doubted that it had ever been the intent of scholars who wrote about women to divorce them totally from their social context and to consider them as isolates apart from men, their families and social and economic conditions (1986:4). Further, they concluded that when personal motivations underlying a decision to move have been observed, it becomes apparent that gender is indeed a valid category of analysis, although one of many.

While this early debate on individualist versus structuralist approaches in female migration, and related arguments on the value of women as a category of analysis, are both somewhat dated now, they nevertheless demonstrated the first shift in emphasis in the study of female migration. This shift was the move away from discussions on

whether to analyse female migration, to a focus on *how* to analyse female migration, having validated the need for a female migration literature. The following discussions on how to analyse female migration have tended to focus on the migratory process, or on issues that have arisen for female migrants as they have travelled from their home to host countries. For this reason, I have grouped these into a collection termed 'women in migration' literature.

Leaving Home: Women in Migration

Acceptance of the need to consider female migration, on a number of levels, may have provided a justification and framework for analysing female migration. However, it still did not provide an analytical perspective from which to study women in migration. Some scholars sought to address this issue by highlighting the differences for women vis-à-vis men in migration. One example was Fawcett, Khoo and Smith (1984:4-5), who outlined five reasons for the study of women in migration:

- (i) women represent a different human resource to men;
- (ii) the causes of female migration are different to the causes of male migration;
- (iii) the consequences of female migration are different to the consequences of male migration;
- (iv) the analysis of female migration can help detect trends in family processes; and
- (v) the analysis of female migration can make for better social accounting with respect to policy decisions.

Thadani and Todaro also argued the need for an analysis of women in migration studies, vis-à-vis men (1984:36-7,45). Whilst they did not share the view that the causes of female and male migration differ (that is, they thought both economically derived),

they claimed that although the goal of migration may be the same, divergent male and female strategies to attain this goal may be evident.

A number of studies have adopted such approaches to the analysis of women in migration. Whether women's reasons for migrating are different to men's was a topic of interest in the literature. As stated above, Thadani and Todaro considered that, apart from ways in which marriage formed a distinguishing feature of female migration,²⁵ the main motive for both male and female migration was economic. Indeed, in the South Pacific Connell observed that there was virtually no evidence for different factors influencing male and female migration (1984:968). Apart from wives joining husbands, economic reasons were paramount for the increase in 'autonomous' Pacific female migration from the 1970s. Other reasons, of course, were said to influence women to migrate, such as the desire for access to education and health services, the attainment of social objectives, the desire to escape traditional customs (Connell, 1984:966), disadvantage in terms of property rights, lack of opportunities, and the desire to escape marital discord or discrimination (Morokvasic, 1984:898). These reasons, however, did little to set the motives for male and female migration apart.

Rather, the key difference between male and female migratory decisions could have been found not in *why* they migrate, but in *why some* women were *prevented* from migrating. Reasons for preventing female migration have been predominantly attributed to social constraints (reminiscent of Chant's earlier behaviourist approaches). Social constraints, or the lack of them, can have a great impact on sex-selectivity patterns (Morokvasic, 1984:897). Connell (1984) noted in Melanesia, for example, because social control was often stronger and employment was biased towards males for plantations and mines, migration was more obviously male than in Polynesia or Micronesia. In Papua New Guinea a range of attitudes constrained

female migration such as, a preference for girls to retain their traditional roles as gardeners, the belief that it was a waste of limited finance to educate girls; the fear that girls may adopt unacceptable attitudes of behaviour, or that they may marry outside their communities with a consequent loss of control over marriage exchanges or brideprice payments (Connell, 1984:965-6). Similarly, in South Pentecost, Vanuatu, female migration was discouraged due to an additional fear that by leaving the home environment, young single women in particular might become prostitutes (Jolly, 1987).

At this point in the discussion, it is interesting to note two dichotomies that were either explicit or implicit in earlier analyses of why women migrate. The first dichotomy concerns the description of migratory moves as being either autonomous or independent, as opposed to passive or associational moves. 'Passive' or 'associational' or even 'social' migration typically refers to wives who join their husbands and/or families in migratory moves (Connell, 1984:965; Thadani and Todaro, 1984:370, Sharma (1986) in Moore, 1988:94; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992:14).²⁶ 'Autonomous' or 'independent' migration, on the other hand, is less well defined. Connell referred to autonomous female migration as a response to increased employment opportunities for women, such as those which occurred in Namoluk atoll, Etal atoll, and Tarawa in the late 1960s to mid-1970s (1984:967). Chant and Radcliffe provided a further elaboration of this side of the dichotomy, by equating independent migration with individual or solo migration that is ideally 'independent' of family and kin (financial) support; while stating that autonomous migration is generally used to describe situations in which women move alone *and* with the overriding objective of finding work (1992:13, 15).

However, if autonomy in female migration is thus equated with employment and independence from a husband, problems arise in the analysis of females who migrate alone as part of a household's strategy for survival.²⁷ This practice occurs in

Latin America, the Philippines and the South Pacific where, as in Western Samoa, young girls were seen as a particularly reliable source of remittances (Shankman, 1976:33; Morokvasic, 1984:896). It is, therefore, problematic to assume that 'autonomous' female migration presupposes independence in migration; just as it is to assume that being married precludes any hope for independence. Furthermore, even in cases where employment may create independence for migrant women vis-à-vis men, some women may experience an increase in dependence on wage-work and employers and be less able to react against oppressive working conditions, thereby losing independence in another respect (Morokvasic, 1984:894-5).

Another dichotomy worthy of comment was evident in the analysis of change after migration. While Connell (1990:2) later observed that changes resulting from migration cannot necessarily be distinguished from other parallel changes, an assumption of a tradition-migration-modernity continuum was perpetuated in this literature. Morokvasic noted that earlier analyses often perceived tradition as the "point zero of change" and equated migration with the pursuit of modernity (1983:20). An example was Buechler's comments: "...migration per se does not account for major differences in the position of women unless it is accompanied by changes in her reproductive role through family planning..." (1976:1). Here it was assumed that there was no family planning used before migration and that migration was essentially a passage to the freedom and improvement which was modernity (Morokvasic, 1983:21). The problem with this view, as recognised in later years, was that it conveyed an ahistorical, simplified and universal typification of 'tradition' as a fixed point of reference when measuring transformations through migration. As will be discussed later, tradition cannot be assumed to be fixed. Another well recognised problem with the dichotomy was the assumption that changes facilitated by migration

were necessarily towards modernity (however defined), and not, perhaps, towards a redefinition of previous social mores, including 'tradition'.

Interestingly enough, despite insightful observations such as Connell's, Morokvasic's (and others), the tradition-modernity²⁸ dichotomy still pervades some more recent commentaries, particularly those concerned with changes in women's status or position with respect to men, before and after migration. In an example of a study that assessed the characteristics of women migrating to Australia and their migration decisions, it was observed that:

...the women (they) surveyed did not necessarily feel disempowered...In fact, for some, the migration and settlement process itself seems to have empowered them, giving them the confidence and resources to take major decisions in their current lives (Young and Madden, 1992:23).

In another example from 1993, it was claimed:

In the case of female migrants, changes in their status can be assessed by comparing their situation before and after migration or by comparing their situation after migration with that of non-migrant women remaining in the area of origin, with that of non-migrant women in the place of destination or with that of migrant men in the place of destination. Comparisons can be carried out in terms of a variety of characteristics indicative of status, including marital status, educational attainment, employment status, individual earnings, household income, ownership of land or assets etc. Improvements may be experienced over time with respect to some characteristics but not others, further complicating the assessment of the impact of migration (Bilsborrow and the United Nations Secretariat, 1993:14).

The assumptions, categorisations, simplifications and ethnocentrism contained within these examples are too numerous to dissect here. Suffice to say that I question this kind of analysis of migratory change - such as taking prescribed indicators of status or empowerment, and applying them universally to derive general conclusions about a singular category of migrant women - as defying the wisdom of advances that have been made in the study of women in migration in recent years. These points will be taken up later in the thesis through discussions of Tongan women in Canberra. However, it is interesting to note at this point that the comments above reveal those same limiting characteristics articulated earlier by Morokvasic:

The 'now and here' approach that characterises a number of studies implies also that migration is a move from a more oppressive to a less oppressive environment, from traditional to modern, and that the access to waged work contributes to access to a less oppressed status (1984:892).

Broadly speaking, conclusions that assume a general improvement of women through migration risk failing to highlight some of the broader, structural effects of migration that may ultimately undermine improved conditions for individual women who migrate. As Connell pointed out for the South Pacific:

...migration has tended to contribute to marginalization, peripheralization and dependency and...the burdens of these changes tend to be experienced by women rather than men (1984:978).²⁹

As Bottomley described, references to a traditional-modern continuum, widely used by scholars of development studies, can miss how (cultural) traditions are modified, revived or abandoned; or circumstances in which many of the changes being attributed to migration are also occurring at 'home' (1992:51, 89).

The consequences of female migration have been another area of interest although depictions of consequences, of course, vary. There are many references to the negative consequences of female migration, or the consequences being more complicated or special for women. For example, it was claimed that community influences are more important in the consequences of migration for married women as they are more likely to see themselves constrained by being part of a larger unit, such as a couple or family (Bilsborrow and the United Nations Secretariat, 1993:13). Another popular view was that women have an extra burden of migratory baggage to bear:

The isolation and alienation identifiable in the general migrant population assume an added dimension, since to the economic and cultural alienation must be added the sexual... The female migrant finds herself not merely living in two cultures, but...she tends to be between two cultures - in a state of 'betwixt and between', bouncing back and forth against two cultural models and unable to restructure her personal values (Parris, 1982:9).

Note the cultural dualism of two reified cultures implied here, echoing the double and triple discrimination concept described earlier, in which being female was considered to attach 'extra' conditions to the migratory experience. Once again, Anthias and Yuval-Davis can lead us beyond the limitations of these approaches by reminding us of the important differences which historical contexts and social arenas provide in contextualising migrant women's experiences. They argued, for instance, that in the sphere of the household, gender divisions will differ according to ethnicity, notwithstanding the influences of class and state practices (1983:68).

Whether female adaptive strategies differ from those of males in the host environment has been another source of debate in the literature. Beuchler claimed that, in general, women seem to be able to invest more time in forging relations not only with those at home, but with others belonging to different social classes and ethnic groups (1976:2). This was often facilitated by women working in the service or manufacturing industry, using the telephone, and going to church more frequently than men. An alternative perspective, however, emerged from a study of Pacific Islander adaptation in Auckland. Here Graves found that more women than men adopted a 'self-reliant' strategy, rather than a 'kin-reliant' or 'peer-reliant' strategy, in their adaptation to the new environment (1984:372-3). For the working wife, the results of the study suggested that little time was available to her to use kin- or peer-support networks because of the time spent completing child care and domestic chores, as well as working in a factory. Graves noted that there was little opportunity for women to enjoy casual meetings with others in this environment. Further, for Pacific Island communities in New Zealand, Graves noted that men and women tended to adopt an initial coping tactic of living with family, friends, or one's own nuclear unit upon arrival in New Zealand (1984:375). This arrangement may or may not be maintained over time, but the common shift was from kin- to peer-reliance as

they met a wider circle of friends. This shift, however, was particularly difficult for married women.

Labour market participation and its effects have perhaps been the areas in which writing on women and migration has been most prolific. Indeed, they represent the area in which the most significant theoretical contributions on immigrant women have been made. Scholars from a Marxist-feminist perspective in particular have observed the extensive labour force participation rates on the part of migrant women and have focused on the relationship between gender and class (Brettell and Simon, 1986:10). Mention of the litany of oppressions described for migrant women in the workforce has already been made, which were amplified by further descriptions of the kinds of oppressive conditions experienced by migrant women at work. It was proposed that capitalist markets demand a temporary, secondary labour market readily provided by migrant labour, and that migrant women have been concentrated in that, in predominantly female-designated occupations with poor remuneration, poor conditions and long hours.³⁰

In Australia, in a study of the working conditions of migrant women in industry in Melbourne, ironically titled, *"But I wouldn't want my wife to work here..."*,³¹ Storer (1976:82) described the appalling working conditions and workplace discrimination that characterised employment conditions, noting that "migrant women bitterly understand their situation of exploitation". Some fifteen years later, the situation seemed to have changed very little for recently arrived migrant women in industry in the Illawarra region, who were said to have experienced similar problems and concerns (Vasta, 1993a:12).

The tendency for migrant women to secure employment through their kin and friends, at least for their first job, has been frequently observed, such as in the case of Polynesian women in New Zealand (Graves, 1984:375-6). For Samoan women in New

Zealand, Larner noted that because of chain migration and families finding jobs for migrants, women were highly concentrated in factories, manufacturing and service sectors (1991:25, 26). However, Larner observed a further, most interesting trend between Island-born Samoan women (that is, those who had migrated) and New Zealand-born Samoan women (or the 'second generation'), with respect to labour market marginalisation (1991:30-1). She found that second generation women provided a more dispensable form of labour, resulting from their attempts at occupational mobility, and from standards they had set as to the types of work they would be prepared to accept. Island-born migrant women, on the other hand, were able to retain full-time positions, accepting undesirable jobs when they were rejected by other women who thus became marginalised from the labour market.

This focus on the level of female migrant labour force participation (as on male participation) has in some cases been linked to the motivation behind the desire to work. Motivations have been linked to a range of cultural, economic and social factors, and have been said to influence the types of work that would be performed by migrants in host countries as opposed to their home countries. For example, contrasting findings have been described for migrants who possess a 'home-oriented' approach to migration. On the one hand, migrants may 'divorce' their work from their social role and self perception, and perform duties as a migrant that they would be loath to perform in their home countries. In this sense, work is rendered 'asocial' and regarded as a means of earning income to fulfil their objectives in the home society (Piore, 1979:116). On the other hand, a 'home orientation' was said to be able to create a situation where the social expectations of women at home determine the types of work they will perform as migrants. Anthias (1983, cited in Brettell and Simon, 1986:8), for instance, found that the restrictions placed on women in Greek-Cypriot culture affected the nature of work these women engaged in once living in England.

Recent interest in female migration and work has provided excellent insights into the objectification of female migrants through labour migration. Some studies seem to have adopted more processual approaches to this phenomenon and incorporated a broader range of influences when compared to those of two decades earlier. Through analyses of the 'feminisation' or 'gendering' of migration streams, scholars (de Guzman 1994, Tyner 1994) of the international labour migration of Filipino women to places like Hong Kong and Japan have described how:

In effect, women (overseas contract workers) are commodified to fit pre-existing and externally-imposed images of what women/women migrants should be and should perform... Women migrants are no longer viewed as individuals, but rather as products to be exported and imported (Tyner, 1994:603-4).

As well as the pre-defined criteria of what the ideal Filipino domestic servant, or entertainer, should be,³² Tyner described how the ability to employ a Filipina maid is seen by people of some labour importing countries as a status symbol, similar to "owning the right car", or "living in the right area" (1994:604). Along with the objectification and commoditisation of 'Asian' female migrants as maids, entertainers and contract workers, comes the stereotype of 'Asian' female migrants as 'mail order brides' for men of receiving countries. Trends of this kind of female labour migration have been described as on the rise in parts of Asia.³³

Associated with an interest in the productive roles of female migrants has been an increasing interest in their reproductive roles. Once again, changes resulting from migration as women move from home to host environments have predominated in approaches of earlier studies. Brettell and Simon identified a connection between the two roles, stating that the emphasis on the productive roles of women cannot be adequately assessed without consideration of their reproductive roles (1986:13). They claimed two issues recur in such a consideration:

- (i) an interest in the supposedly new work roles and husband/wife, mother/child domestic relationships that result from migratory change; and
- (ii) a focus on the increasing double burden migrant women must carry unless they find new solutions for old roles, particularly child care and housework.

Studies of this kind have found that child care responsibilities have altered considerably after migration. Most have suggested a greater child care burden is experienced by women, having implications for job prospects, domestic roles, and social involvement in the new environment. Jamaican women in New York and London, for example, claimed that child rearing had become considerably more difficult through migration as they could no longer rely on relatives or neighbours to mind children. Many believed that this limited their independence and their ability to seek their preferred choice of work (Foner, 1986:147). Samoan women in New Zealand experienced similar pressures, to the extent that many engaged in shift work or night work with the concomitant asocial hours, so both partners could earn money and still have someone to mind children. Because of migration, child-care could no longer be shared among female members of the extended family, as in Samoa, and so it became primarily the responsibility of the mother. Further, unsatisfactory child-care arrangements and pregnancy were often claimed to be the main reasons why women left jobs they held since migrating (Larner, 1991: 23, 28).

In more recent studies, scholars have begun to focus more on the body of the migrant woman in their analyses. Rather than limiting consideration of reproductive roles to their connection with labour market processes, attention has been given to the experience of childbirth and child-rearing in the new environment. One such study of childbirth experiences of migrant women from South East Asia in Australia found that:

Many women talk about being unable to follow their traditional customs when they have a baby in Australia because of the different system of beliefs and practices surrounding childbirth. Others talk about the need to follow the instructions of health care providers about birth, confinement and caring for their newborn. This is partly because they are now living in this society, not in their home country any more (Liamputtong Rice, 1994:1).

Other interest in the body of the migrant woman has concerned the importance of dance in the representation of women and ethnicity, and its role in reproducing cultural heritage in the immigrant context (see for example, Bottomley 1992; Ram, 1994, 1995). In addition, attention has been given to how the body of the migrant woman is the receptacle of moral standards and values within the immigrant community, suggesting that social constraints placed on women as migrants are vital to the preservation of social and moral standards of the wider migrant community (Bottomley, 1979). Or as Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983:68) offered, "the definition of membership within the ethnic group often depends on performing gender attributes correctly." Further, the insistence of the immigrant community upon the preservation of mores concerning migrant women's sexuality and maternity, despite the accepted change in other mores, has been observed (Bloul, 1992, 1994). It is not my intention to explore these insightful approaches in detail at this point, as they will be considered later in relation to Tongan women.

From this rather lengthy discussion of topics of interest in the literature of female migration, we can begin to see a trend emerging in the literature. There has been a growing tendency to talk more about migrant women's experiences rather than their motivations - and a concomitant shift in emphasis from why they left home to what happened along the way. As implied above, in articulating women's experiences the literature is still characterised by dichotomies. While some are not necessarily problematic, others are. The literature discussed above has highlighted issues concerning women as migrants vis-à-vis men as migrants. We now enter into the next

series of developments in the literature which encompass both a shift of analytical alignment in conceptualising authorship and 'voice', and a parallel emergence of 'gender' as a focus.

The Gendering of Migration

By the mid-1980s, developments were occurring in the broader bodies of literature that influenced the study of female migration. The literature I refer to here is primarily anthropological and feminist. During this period an analytical shift became evident. Beyond focusing on *how* to represent women's issues in migration, there emerged a question of *who* should appropriately represent migrant women's issues? In answering this question, discussions subsequently appeared to become more closely aligned to representations of migrant women vis-à-vis non-migrant women, rather than men. Referring back to Morokvasic's (1983:19) comment at the beginning of this chapter that the original rise of a literature on migrant women was partly linked to a wider feminist interest and questioning of the role of women, it is interesting to observe that it was in feminist representations of migrant women that the next key development in migrant women's literature occurred: that is, the increasing representation of migrant women *by* migrant women.

From the 1970s (coincidentally paralleling the birth of female migration literature), there was an increasing awareness by feminists in the United States that the feminist movement had to expand its base if it was to succeed in appealing to the diversity of values of ethnic women. This awareness saw the goals of the feminist movement broaden to include economic, employment, and survival lessons more relevant to a majority of women, particularly working class ethnic women (Lavender, 1986:124). The results of this development contributed to some of the literature in this chapter. However in Australia, for example, there was a growing displeasure with the

way in which feminists represented migrant women's issues, and by the late 1970s and early 1980s immigrant women in Australia had begun to question their relationship with the mainstream³⁴ women's movement. In particular it was stated that:

Migrant women claimed that the mainstream movement had failed to understand the diversity of women in Australia. This meant that important issues such as racism, class experience, sexuality and the family were either ignored, or it was thought that all women would adopt the mainstream position on these issues (Vasta, 1993a:10).

After years of feminist segregation of migrant women's issues as distinct and extra to men's, migrant women themselves began to point to issues on which migrant women and men could be aligned and find unity. The struggle against racism was one such issue (Vasta, 1993a:11).

However, this did not suggest that women did not have special concerns. By splitting from mainstream feminism, migrant women evidenced empowerment in denying the homogeneity of women. A particular point of difference from the views of mainstream feminists was with respect to the family, as the family was said to be "an ambiguous and contradictory site" for migrant women. Two examples of points of departure from mainstream feminism were said to be in the importance of 'family reunion' migration for migrant women in Australia, and the contrary assumption of some feminists that romantic marriage was a better model of forming a family (Vasta, 1993a:11). Debates about representation were fuelled by the appearance of diasporic feminisms both in the literature (Bottomley, 1984; Kauanui, 1998) and in their practical application at work on migrant women's issues. Diasporic feminisms served to remind us that awareness and political representation of women in the home countries was happening anyway, regardless of migration (a sign of modernity at home!). They also raised critical questions about feminism, feminist practice and identity, basing much of their work on the politics of difference (Vasta, 1993a:19). Acknowledging the influence of overseas feminist experiences, Vasta claimed that one of the major analytical and

practical contributions made by immigrant women in Australia has been to show how different groups experience class exploitation, racism and sexism differently through the differing effects of various policies on different groups. Thus from the early to mid 1980s, migrant women in Australia came to find representation in what were known as non-English speaking background (NESB) women's associations.³⁵ Migrant women found a collective voice on issues such as: racism, health, working conditions, culturally appropriate services, domestic violence, language assistance, work and education.³⁶

But developments were also occurring within the so-called mainstream feminist movement. In 1984, Bottomley questioned the very category of 'migrant women' as being "fairly meaningless", and noted that some of the issues being represented as 'women's issues' were also affecting the male population (such as abortion and divorce law reform) (1984:98-9). In a later volume, Bottomley further cautioned on the development of feminist and ethno-specific initiatives, such as women's health centres, NESB women's refuges and so on, as risking imposing another form of assimilationism³⁷ on migrant women (1992:164). While NESB women's groups were being formed in Australia, feminists and anthropologists in Britain and Australia were discussing the very issues dividing migrant women from others. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983:62) questioned the notion of 'sisterhood' and what they described as the implicit assumption that there existed a commonality of interests and/or goals amongst all women. This followed their comment that, at the time, migrant women in general had been invisible from the literature on feminist or women's studies in Britain. According to their analysis:

...we argue that *every* feminist struggle has a specific *ethnic* (as well as class) context;

and

...any political struggle in relation to any of the divisions considered... i.e. class, ethnic and gender, has to be waged in the context of the others (1983:62, 71).

A series of published papers followed this study,³⁸ which included considerations of representing 'the other' (Jolly, 1991), and considerations of dismantling unitary categories of analysis, such as that of 'migrant women' to fulfil "...the need for recognition of specificity" (Bottomley, 1984:104). I will return to these considerations below. Suffice to note at this point that Bottomley later called for a move towards more reflexive accounts to reveal the possible biases or silences in representations of gender, class and ethnicity (1992:106).

Parallel to this change in alignment regarding feminist analysis and migrant women, was the shift, during the 1980s, in analytical focus and research agendas from Women's Studies to Gender Studies (Seremetakis, 1994:107). According to Seremetakis the shift to gender studies was meant to: "...inhibit the ghettoisation of women's issues in a self-enclosed field of research and discourse that would be unable to impact on other disciplines and perspectives" (1994:107).

The move towards gender studies, and increased recognition of gender as a culturally and historically constructed concept that should not be analysed in categorical isolation, has greatly influenced the literature of female migration. Not only has it effected obvious shifts in terminology in more recent years, but it has possibly removed some of the dichotomous tendencies in the former 'women in migration' literature. No longer is it appropriate to measure women's concerns in fixed opposition to men's. The shift to gender has enabled migration studies to embrace the wider processual elements of the migratory phenomenon (such as culture, class and ethnicity), without, as Leeds (1976) described, arbitrarily omitting one half of the migrant population (men). This broadening of focus is consistent with Moore's description of gender:

The contemporary social sciences now take it as axiomatic that gender is a cultural construct, that, far from being natural objects, women and men are fundamentally cultural constructions (1994:71).

Settlement in the 'Host' Country - Australia

We now come to the final body of literature being considered in this chapter - that of women as migrants entering and settling into the host environment of Australia. Again I will indicate a shift in focus in the literature, as one from women as migrants vis-à-vis non-migrant women, to women as migrants vis-à-vis the state. In exploring this body of literature, I highlight some more dichotomies and observe how women seem to slip into virtual obscurity again in the host country of Australia, after having achieved public recognition in prior literatures and struggles.

The important influence of the state on female migration has long been recognised in the literature with respect to state control of the characteristics and quantity of labour migration in and out of countries (such as whether moves will be temporary, permanent, and so on). Brettell and Simon (1986:6, 7) noted the importance of considering the immigration policies that control and shape immigrant streams, to understand their influences on the composition of an immigrant stream and their permanence. In some cases, they observed, immigration policy often implied that the presence of a woman determines the permanence of a move. An example was given where government policy supported temporary wage labour migration with an emphasis on return, in which females were assumed to remain in the sending country, at least initially. Alternatively, when the wife accompanied her husband, permanence was the presumed outcome. Further, they noted that immigration policy can also affect how female migrants will be perceived in the host country, particularly if they are assumed to be non-working dependants.

The effect of the state in this latter respect has recently been articulated by Tyner in the context of immigration policies and practices concerning female Filipino overseas contract workers:

Although not officially sanctioned, underlying social constructions of gender are manifest within policies and programs of international labour migration. This manifestation is most evident in specific recruitment practices.

...the marketing strategies of the (Philippines Overseas Employment Administration) POEA may unintentionally contribute to the social construction of gendered migration (1994:602-3).

While not official policy, Tyner noted how state acquiescence to global demand, which was said to be predicated on racist and sexist assumptions, influenced patterns of gendered migration from the Philippines (1994:609). Through this process, the state may be described as inadvertently supporting the objectification of Filipino women discussed earlier.

The role of the state with respect to women in migration to Australia has had a somewhat chequered past with its early and now outmoded policies of assimilation and integration. It is interesting to note the coincidence of the emergence of a literature on female migration, with the practical termination of the White Australia policy in Australia in the early 1970s.³⁹ In the early 1970s a national policy of multiculturalism was endorsed and it is still operative in Australia today, though subject to criticism and review.⁴⁰ The progression of state immigration policies in Australia over the years, spanning assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism, have been described as tending to obscure the primacy of economic and political structures in determining the limits of possibilities for migrants in Australia. The policies, instead, have concentrated on culture, thereby making the cultural field an important terrain of struggle (Bottomley, 1987:4). This has two important consequences for the purpose of considering women's entry into this host country. Firstly, if it is economic factors that predominate in female migrants' reasons for migrating as previously suggested in the literature, then the implication is clear that in Australia, their emphasis might have to quickly shift to asserting their cultural 'capital' as a means of securing economic

resources. Secondly, how does an emphasis on a cultural field affect migrant women as they enter and settle in Australia?

Consideration of these points necessitates a consideration of the state's multicultural policy in Australia. Multiculturalism has been described as a policy that acknowledges that ethnic minority groups should retain their cultural identity (Callan, 1986:75). Multiculturalism has an emphasis on 'creating' and dealing with ethnic communities, which largely define and are seen to represent and shape the migrant presence vis-à-vis the state in Australia. Through multiculturalism, the media, church, school and political promotions of ethnic categorisations are ultimately adopted by migrant groups as 'ascribed identities' (Callan, 1986:78). Those migrants who are not absorbed by one of these ethnically-defined communities are assumed by the state to have settled into the wider framework of mainstream society. This holds true for female migrants, whose 'settlement' is considered to be effected by the state, her family and the community providing support as appropriate.

Here emerges another dualism - that of being represented as either 'mainstream' or 'ethnic'. I will return to this issue below. But first, given the emphasis on migrant representation through ethnic communities, I would briefly like to explore a hoary old question - what is meant by 'community' (see also chapters three and five)? Wild described 'community' as "one of the most notorious concepts in sociology" (1981:17). As there is little agreement on its meaning, some sociologists have refused to use it, while others restrict its use to deliberate vagary. Others have carefully specified its meaning to suit their particular needs. As Wild described:

Community has been applied to a wide range of social phenomena: it can refer to a geographically isolated small village, a dispersed ethnic group, a total institution such as a prison, those sharing such a common tie as residence or occupation, and to those who feel a sense of belonging together (1981:17).

Beyond defining what is meant by community in a given time and place is the risk of assuming a permanence or fixity of what has been determined, and of impermeable borders. In addition, a further risk in looking at the community is that of presuming that only a singular community may be in operation. In the case of Manchester Pakistanis, for example, Werbner found that three 'communities' existed in the immigrant context, that of being British Muslims, British Pakistanis, and British Asians (1990:342). While membership of these communities was identified by Pakistanis as being distinct, Werbner found that divisions with the broader Pakistani community may create cleavages at one level, but may also lead to a larger unity and interdependence between discrete domains and areas (1990:346).

Hence the importance of explaining how 'community' is used in this thesis. I initially intended to use the concept in relation to an ethnic Tongan 'community' within a multicultural 'host' environment. But as I see it, use of the concept is already stereotyping Tongans in Canberra. I thus prefer the Tongan 'community' itself to define what they mean by their use of the concept (assuming they do use it at all). By problematising the concept I thus explore the following: how do Tongans in Canberra use the term 'community'? When and how did it become part of their frame of reference and social organisation in Canberra? Is it in response to the broader multicultural encouragement for ethnic groups to represent themselves in this way? Is it a political tool in the struggle for cultural resources? Or is it really limited to a need for recognition in the 'host' society? Who, or what is represented by 'the community'? Where do its boundaries lie? Are they based on familial, religious, geographical, or factional divisions? Is the community limited to Canberra or does it include influences of other regions of Australia, or overseas? Do all members of the Tongan community share the same perception of what their community is or does? Where do gender,

ethnicity, and culture figure in all of this? Thus, my use of the concept in this thesis is to raise such questions rather than foreclose them.

But recognising the importance of this contested 'community' is crucial in assessing the host environment women enter as migrants. How does a problematisation of community reveal how migrant women are imaged with respect to the state? Here the mainstream versus ethnic dichotomy resurfaces. The effects of the socio-political division created by multiculturalism, and what this has meant for migrant women, has been much discussed. Callan (1986) and de Lepervanche (1992), for example, pointed to a 'structural' marginalisation as 'ethnics' through multiculturalism. The very creation of ethnic representation in Australia was depicted as a response to marginalisation of migrant communities in decision-making. As Callan noted:

Australians have shown a great deal of skill in keeping power and decision making out of the hands of migrant communities....An alternative (was) to establish ethnic institutions which provide comparable access to power (1986:76).

De Lepervanche (1992) claimed ethnicity assumed marginality through its association with another dichotomy of private/public, so that ethnic/private : mainstream/public. De Lepervanche described a view offered in an earlier submission to government⁴¹ that the two areas of social life, private and public, needed to be distinguished with respect to the 'established' pattern of group interaction in Australia (1992:89). In the private sphere, ethnic difference may flourish in the context of family life and religious belief; however, in the public sphere, the 'established basis to society' of English language, legal codes and so on should not be subject to disruption.

When ethnicity becomes public, it is then marginalised in the public sphere through state endorsed (and encouraged) public celebrations of appropriate ethnic/cultural indicators. Ethnicity and culture become merged, confused and fixed in stifled representations of identity in the host environment. Ethnicity becomes

represented to the mainstream society through intermittent celebrations of skillful dancing, colourful costumes, tasty food and community languages. In this, 'culture' is categorised and simplified as 'traditional', and no distinction is made between "the ethnic boundary that defines the group, (and) the cultural stuff that it encloses" (Barth, 1969:15). On the ground, Cowling asserted that while multiculturalism permits community languages and ethnic identity, "the average Australian is assimilationist" (1990a:340). She said that Tongans have only mildly reacted to being objectified by Australian church groups as "exotics who are invited to dance or to cook island dishes, but (who are) not treated as culturally or socially equal." Comments of this nature may be found throughout the literature on multiculturalism, and some of the issues raised by Bottomley (1992) in particular, concerning dance and culture, will be taken up throughout the thesis.

When women are considered in this, a third term is added thus aligning ethnic/private/female : mainstream/public/male. Men were said to dominate both the private and public spheres, while women were described as the reproducers of ethnic communities, in subordination to males as housewives and dependants (de Lepervanche, 1992:94). Moreover, women may experience further marginalisation within ethnic communities through the predominance of middle class men as leaders of these groups. Some men were said to have originated from more patriarchal societies than Australia, implying that they may implement these former patriarchal controls in addition to those of the state in Australia, thereby placing a double burden on women (echoing the earlier themes of double and triple discrimination) (Martin 1984 cited in de Lepervanche, 1992:90).

Therefore, in dealing with the state, women as migrants seem to have three options in Australia: they may stress their gender in unison with other women migrants as NESB women, or through diasporic feminist movements. Alternatively,

they may stress their ethnicity in unison with males of like ethnicity, through an ethnic community. Thirdly, they may become part of the mainstream society. The effect of such channelling is that while migrant women's *issues* or needs may be receiving social or political recognition, the lived experiences of women themselves become obscured again, through women being represented in one of these pre-determined categories of activism.

In respect of the first two options is a risk that persons who are given responsibility to speak on behalf of women as migrants, through advisory committees for example, may not fully represent the issues at hand activated by those at the 'grassroots'. Moreover, this process may imply a construction of women as "passive recipients of policy decisions and programs" (Parella, 1993:68). Similar processes of representation through the state culture may also work to effectively 'silence' women's everyday life experiences, when these experiences are shifted to institutional prescription. As Seremetakis explained:

Once, women would not have been recognised as legitimate and viable political subjects: today in many societies the formal recognition of their civil political subject status can blur the real chasms between institutional representation or the stylisations of public culture and the complexity and turbulence of everyday life experience (1994:113).

Towards an Analytical Approach to Women and Migration

The significant advances made over the years in the body of literature on women and migration grounds the analytical approach for this thesis. While the approach I am adopting is by no means new, having been developed through discourses over the past decade, it tries to incorporate many of the insights that have been 'thrashed out' and refined in the process. I am conscious of questions of representation, and of the importance of giving voice to the subjects of analysis, rather than merely re-presenting them. This new approach recognises both the limitations and the powers of our own perceptions and representations, and recognises that while social-scientific research is

"immensely rich and diverse in its own way", it often "fails to capture the essence of what it is like to *be* a migrant; and be, or not be, part of a community, a nation, a society" (King, Connell, and White, 1995:ix-x).

As well as noting the suggestions of Jolly (1991), Bottomley (1992), and King et.al. (1995) to learn from the portrayals of the literary works of migrants themselves, a focus on specificity should assist in providing a more nuanced analysis of gender in migration, with respect to the interplays of class, ethnicity and culture. This necessitates considering all such categories as processual rather than fixed; as being "enmeshed" (as suggested by Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983); and as complementary to migration analyses. In a sense, my awareness of no longer analysing women as a unitary, separate category echoes Leeds' intentions of so many years ago, albeit for different reasons.

A way around and beyond the use of dichotomies which, as we have seen, characterise the literature on female migration, is to consider drawing on Cowling's (1990a) and Bottomley's use of Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus was described as a process that 'embodies' history, and one in which:

...those who occupy similar positions in social and historical place tend to possess a certain sense of place, including categories of perception and appreciation that provide a commonsense understanding of the world, and especially of what is natural... (Bottomley, 1992:122).

This concept will be deployed throughout.

Where to now?

This chapter has attempted to trace some significant developments in the literature on women and migration. Dualisms, dichotomies and stereotypical categories have been highlighted throughout the literature, in an inherent struggle to represent migrant women's issues without misrepresenting the women themselves. I

consider that through the repositioning of migrant women in the literature, vis-à-vis men, other women, and the state, there has been a gradual broadening of focus from fixed categories of analysis, to more processual approaches which highlight the specificity of experience. This broadening has been assisted by the shift in focus from women to gender.

Regarding the underlying dichotomy of migration, that of being at home or in the host environment, I note this implies a separation of one from the other, which clearly does not exist for many migrants. Rather, the two environments are quite often drawn closer through the linkages maintained by migrants. In addition, the depiction of migrant women being between 'two' cultures, one at home and one in the host environment (Parris, 1982), defies for example, instances of intermarriage that cross a number of 'cultures'; as well defying the overriding policy of multiculturalism in Australia. Further, I recognise that there is a fluidity of relations and influences that exist for many migrants beyond both the home and host environments. These can only be understood in global contexts, in a consideration of Tongan diasporic nationalisms and transnational links, which I will now address.

²⁴ The literature review does not include commentary on the international movement of women as refugees. It is widely recognised that the issues and circumstances facing refugees are different to those who migrate voluntarily, as they are not fleeing persecution or discrimination and are generally more prepared for the transition.

²⁵ Thadani and Todaro (1984:46) proposed three ways in which marriage can become a motive in female migration: (i) "marriage migration" - where the move is required by marriage, such as to a spouse's place of residence; (ii) "marital migration" - where marriage itself is the goal of migration; and (iii) "mobility marriage" - where marriage is a means to socioeconomic status and thereby a motive for female migration.

²⁶ Although Sharma (1986, in Moore, 1988:94) argued that it is a mistake to assume that because a woman joins her husband in town that this is 'social', as it could be because the town offers better employment opportunities. Thus it could be 'economic'.

²⁷ Chant and Radcliffe (1992:13, 14) note, however, that "much independent movement of women...is still regarded as being in some way related to marriage and family factors"; and that "it should be noted at the outset that very little migration is strictly independent...(as)...it is rare that other individuals are not involved at all...". Using Chant and Radcliffe's terminology, therefore, this situation would perhaps necessitate differentiating between whether the female's independent move was "genuinely 'autonomous' or 'associational'", thereby creating yet another dichotomy within!

²⁸ Modernity in this sense referring to improvement, presumed a 'before' and 'after' narrative.

²⁹ This observation by Connell will be considered further in chapter three.

³⁰ Such female-designated occupations include: waitresses, sewing machine operators, cleaners, domestic workers, caterers etc. While there are those 'female' occupations that are 'white collar', such as nurses, teachers etc., women in skilled occupations have often been described as not having the same level of representation as men; see for example Foner (1986:139) on Jamaican women in New York and London.

³¹ Quoted from comments made by a factory employer (Storer, 1976:82).

³² Such as criteria based on personal characteristics rather than skill, including: "clean, tidy appearance", "cheerful", "sound temperament", "young", "attractive" and so on (Tyner, 1994:603).

³³ See, for example, papers from the conference, *Linking Our Histories: Asian and Pacific Women as Migrants*, University of Melbourne, October 1994.

³⁴ 'Mainstream', for non-English speaking background women, was said to have referred to dominant Anglo-Australian structures, including Anglo-feminist practices and ideas (Vasta, 1993b:43).

³⁵ Such as ANESBWA and Speakout. Note also that use of the acronym, NESB, has been questioned, and a more appropriate designator incorporating cultural and linguistic diversity is being considered by the Commonwealth and State Governments (see DIMA, 1998:52).

³⁶ See, for example, proceedings from the 1992 and 1996 former Bureau of Immigration (Multicultural Affairs and Population) Research's Women in Migration conferences.

³⁷ Alluding to an earlier, now abandoned, policy of migrant assimilation into 'white Australia'.

³⁸ See *Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia* (1984) and *Intersexions...* (1991).

³⁹ While the policy formally ended in the 1950s, its unofficial application was eroded with the implementation of multiculturalism.

⁴⁰ At the time of writing the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) had called for submissions on a paper they prepared called *"Multiculturalism: The Way Forward"*.

⁴¹ Zubrzycki, 1982 *Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nationhood*.

CHAPTER THREE

TONGAN MIGRATION AND THE BORDERS OF CULTURE

We who sit back in our plush chairs behind ornate desks and dictate who shall and who shall not migrate. It's laughable. As though you can quench the human spirit, as though we can deny our own genes. (Finau in Mullins, 1994:171)

...unless a particular country decided otherwise, I cannot settle outside Tonga. All I can do is 'pass freely without let or hindrance' through other lands. Why the barriers? Why is it that, unless there are exceptional circumstances, Tongans cannot settle permanently in lands that surround us and where space abounds? (Finau in Mullins, 1994:173)

In his sermon at an Ecumenical Service in Sydney in September 1990, and earlier Address to the Land Tenure and Migration Seminar in Tonga in September 1975, the late Bishop Patelisio Finau s.m. questioned the existence of boundaries in international migration and the restrictions placed upon Tongans migrating to other lands. His words touched on what I consider to be a fundamental theme in the study of the Pacific Islands diaspora - the struggle of defining and interpreting boundaries that are essentially 'fluid'. Since the recent rapid increase in emigration from the Islands, the process of defining, questioning, negotiating and redefining geographic, economic, political, social, ethnic and cultural boundaries, has served to inform and shape our understanding of Pacific Islands international migration. This chapter explores aspects of the struggle as articulated by participants and by scholars seeking to understand it; and considers how the creation and recreation of boundaries shapes our perceptions of Tongan migration to Australia. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to provide an historical and contextual background to Tongan migration to Australia.

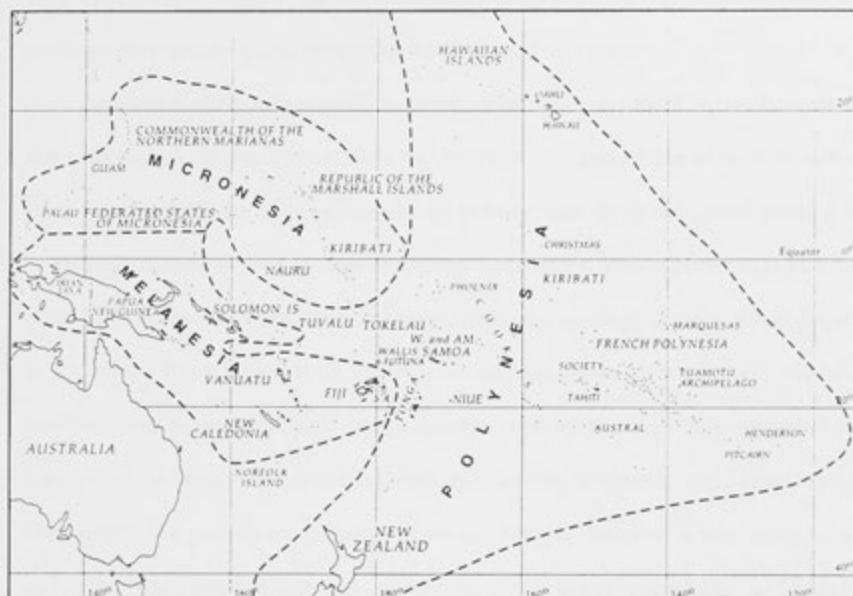
Understanding the Polynesian Diaspora

The South Pacific region (including Papua New Guinea) consists of some twenty-two states covering 550,000 square kilometres of land and spanning 30 million square kilometres of ocean. The region is characterised by exceptional geographical, cultural and economic diversity, which includes almost one thousand language groups (Connell, 1988:1). Divided into three broad 'cultural regions' of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia (see map on page 60), South Pacific migratory patterns have broadly been described as follows: the Polynesian states being characterised by international emigration; the Melanesian states by internal migration; and the Micronesian states as experiencing both patterns of migration, alongside the intake of migrant workers (Connell, 1990:1).⁴²

While often included under the rubrics of 'Pacific Island', 'Oceania', or 'South Pacific' migration studies, contemporary international migration to major metropolitan nations on the Pacific rim has been primarily a Polynesian and Fijian phenomenon (Connell, 1988:1). This international migration from the region is relatively recent, mostly post-World War II. Over the past three decades many scholars have observed some of the more remarkable features of the Polynesian diaspora, in particular the magnitude of the continual, voluntary exodus coupled with the perpetuation of strong home/host linkages. For example:

Although absolute numbers of emigrants are small, relative losses are among the highest in modern migration history (Appleyard, 1988:127).

And unlike those diaspora in which there was a major break from the source area, physically, socially and often emotionally, that of Oceania has seen the maintenance of very close ties between source and destination areas and communities. It has resulted in an unusual, if not unique, creation of transnational social and economic relationships... (Ward, 1996:62).



Islands of the Pacific Ocean

Source: Cartography Unit, RSPAS, The Australian National University

But how have we come to understand the phenomenon of Polynesian (and specifically Tongan) migration? And what kind of approach will provide an appropriate entry to a consideration of an overseas Tongan community in this thesis? Turning to the first question, much of the literature on the phenomenon over the past two decades has been dominated by non-anthropological approaches primarily from the disciplines of geography, political economy, demography and sociology (noting, however, that some of these approaches have been 'anthropological' in nature). Research interests have tended to parallel those in the study of female migration (as in chapter two), such as the causes and consequences of Polynesian migration, the nature of migration streams and aspects of migrant labour. Anthropological studies of Polynesian migration have provided useful insights into the effects of migration and the wider processes of development on sending, or home, communities. However,

very few anthropological studies have been completed on Polynesians living in overseas environments, and even fewer have focused on Tongans.

As Sahlins (1996:42) recently observed, information on the Tongan diaspora is not as accessible as similar materials on Samoans. Studies of Tongans in Australia from other disciplinary approaches are also lacking, with those completed tending to be specially commissioned studies of welfare issues (Cox, 1986; Connell and McCall, 1989; Faiva, 1989 (in Dybka, 1992); Belfrage, 1995). Increasingly some anthropologists in the region have turned their attention to considerations of Tongan identity and tradition and, more recently, to how migration to Australia may have impacted on concepts of tradition and cultural authenticity (Cowling, 1990a; Morton, 1998a, 1998b). Fortunately, the paucity of information on the Tongan diaspora is beginning to be addressed with more qualitative studies currently being undertaken or recently completed in both Australia and New Zealand.⁴³ Also on a positive note, the multi-disciplinary interest in this relatively new area of research has provided some useful insights, offering some different perceptions of aspects of the Polynesian diaspora, (such as Teu (1978a, 1978b) on health and Californian Tongans; Tu'inukuafe on Tongans in New Zealand (1990); Lafitani's 1992 exposé of Tongan migrants' values; and Brown and Walker's 1995 survey of Tongan migrants' remittance patterns).

As one scholar has observed, however, Polynesian migration studies have ultimately reached an "impasse"⁴⁴ or a theoretical crisis, as questioning of the application of concepts normally employed in migration studies to Polynesia has shown little sign of theoretical progress (Hayes, 1992:281). Illustrating this impasse, Hayes summarised the two dominant theoretical models underpinning the analysis of Polynesian migration to date as the 'dependency' model developed through the writings of John Connell, and the 'MIRAB'⁴⁵ model developed by Bertram and Watters. He said both macro-level approaches came to the fore during the 1980s and

resulted from attempts to synthesize a sizeable body of knowledge from a public policy perspective on the causes and consequences of Pacific migration (1992:278, 280).

Hayes described the dependency model as one which combined a modified dependency and world system perspective. His interpretation of Connell's work emphasised the penetration of a Polynesian micro-state's domestic economy and society by the global economy. This penetration contributed to the effect of changing the orientations and aspirations of Polynesians, where a sense of relative deprivation compared to consumers elsewhere became the primary motivation for migration. Also implied in the model is that the international system contributed to domestic social disintegration in the form of an individualistic value or goal orientation. Hayes interpreted the immediate consequences of emigration in this model as cash remittances being sent home by migrants; a reduction in the rate of population growth; and a decline in the size and quality of the labour force as the younger, most educated and skilled persons tended to migrate. Remittances were primarily used to purchase imported commodities rather than being used for investment, while the freedom to spend served to undermine the traditional controls and economic functions of chiefs. As Hayes explained: "In turn this process further encourages individualism as a value and goal orientation and this further encourages migration" (1992:295).

In addition, remittances tended to reduce the incentive and need to work, leading to a drop in domestic production. Remittances also contributed to social inequality which increased the sense of relative deprivation experienced by the remaining families or individuals who themselves became motivated to migrate (Hayes, 1992:296). In sum, Hayes concluded:

...the Dependency Model locates migration in a general class of effects which follow from the incorporation of peripheral societies into the global economic system. The consequences are seen as profoundly debilitating for the periphery, and the overall image that is presented is of societies undergoing a relentless process of disintegration, cultural degeneration, depopulation, and underdevelopment (1992:297).

Turning to the MIRAB model, Hayes described the crucial difference between this and the dependency model as the former's consideration of surplus labour as a primary motivation of emigration, as it could not be absorbed into the domestic economy beyond subsistence level. However, Bertram and Watters (1986) argued that the decision of who will migrate where was made by the kinship system rather than the individual. In this process the kinship system was assumed to remain intact, functioning as "multinational kin networks...through which resources have flowed and options have been mixed and played internationally" (Bertram and Watters, 1986:57). In contrast to the dependency model, Hayes noted that remittances were seen to equalise domestic income distribution, and instead of relative deprivation providing the motivation to emigrate, the MIRAB model presumed the motivation was one of income maximisation.

The externally driven MIRAB process described by Bertram and Watters (1986:57), as turning the Islands from resource-based into rent-based economies and skewing the occupational structure towards bureaucracy and non-agricultural activities, was considered by Hayes to produce a model of equilibrium. According to Hayes' evaluation:

...the island micro-states are in a state of dependency on the external system (as the Dependency Model argues), but this dependency is not necessarily problematic; on the contrary, it represents an efficient adaptation within the world system and appears to be sustainable in the medium term at least (1992:300-01).

Through his comparative analysis Hayes (1992:306-8) identified logical and empirical weaknesses in both models. Both models were found to lack adequate treatment of total demographic change and focused almost exclusively on permanent emigration only, thereby ignoring other types of movement. An unresolved question from both models was whether migration should be viewed as symptomatic of social disorganisation, or as the rational allocation of family labour to serve the corporate

interests of the kin group. Hayes suggested a fuller treatment is required which acknowledges the multitudinous motivations associated with movement along with the linkages between mobility and status achievement. With regard to the economic subsystem, Hayes questioned the dependency model's assumption that there is no surplus labour, but he also questioned the lack of attention in the MIRAB model to the impact of migration on labour force quality.

By way of making theoretical progress, Hayes proposed an 'integrated' model to address some of these shortcomings. Prefacing his model was his observation that:

...only a restricted range of Western thinking has been employed in the study of migration, or for that matter demographic phenomena in general.

...in the population sciences, the boundaries of Western thought have hardly been approached (1992:291).

In the light of Hayes' comments, I would add that Connell's subsequent work in particular has moved beyond such disciplinary boundaries and 'Western entrapments' to embrace a much broader scope of analysis than Hayes has suggested here.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Hayes' integrated model takes into account changes in fertility behaviour by linking it to three "feedback processes" (1992:303). One is the cultural influence of the international system on value orientations and aspirations (such as women's status and nuclearisation of the family), that he considered place a downward pressure on fertility rates. The second is the effect of migration itself in reinforcing this process through forms of communication which diffuse knowledge, attitudes and values. The third process is his premise of the "fertility reducing effects" of declines in mortality due to improved public health. He also referred to the fertility-reducing consequences of female labour force participation and the costs of educating children, stating that the inclusion of fertility rates changes the relationship between emigration and surplus labour in the other models.

Hayes' integrated model addresses perceived shortcomings in the analysis of motivations to migrate by assuming "a basic orientation in Polynesian culture towards social mobility and status striving". Adopting the 'culture area' distinctions mentioned earlier, Hayes said that unlike some Melanesian societies, Polynesian societies have always been stratified. With the advent of colonialism, Polynesian status struggles were provided new bases on which to achieve status. He stated:

Migration is one means by which traditionally low status groups can achieve equality with groups associated with higher ranking chiefly lineages. Instead of lineage competition taking the form of pitched battles, bloodshed and ritual denigration, modern upward social mobility and status competition is achieved by means of educational and occupational success - which often necessitate migration abroad (not necessarily permanently) (1992:304).

Hayes' model acknowledges both the operation of the kinship system in conditioning migration decisions and the growing autonomy of individual family members from kin authority (1992:304). He considered this overcomes the "stretched analogy" of the MIRAB model's "international corporation of kin" concept, and the dependency model's alleged division between traditional collectivism and Western individualism. Rather, Hayes' integrated model acknowledges that: "...individual achievement raises the status of the kin group, and even more so if this achievement is based on overseas success". However, he acknowledged that further research is needed to determine whether migration is more a result of "social disorganisation" suggested by the dependency model, or an equally "questionable" rational allocation of family labour to serve the corporate interests of the kin group (1992:307). In this he noted that the Tongan and Cook Island family systems are loosely structured in comparison to the Samoan. Finally, the integrated model suggested that the negative impact of emigration in the dependency model was more complicated: while the early stages of migration may favour the better educated, in the later stages possibilities are opened up for others to emigrate, regardless of their socio-economic status.

The two dominant models were at once an attempt to bind and synthesize empirical studies of the region into broader analyses while, at the same time, they have themselves become the subjects or catalysts of further empirical research. Hayes' analysis is one example of work inspired by such dominant models. However, apart from articulating the broad macro-level dynamics of the Polynesian diaspora, what do these approaches offer to further our understanding of the phenomenon? The problem I find with these models is that while they successfully pinpoint key structures of the diaspora, they do not allow for cultural or experiential specificities which may temper the outcomes predicted or prescribed by analysis. They also make presumptions about culture which are rather inert and rigid, such as those about social mobility and status striving (M. Jolly, personal communication, 1997). In particular, as Bottomley claimed:

The notion of culture as a way of life of a particular group of people is obviously central to the process of migration, whereby people leave one set of social and historical circumstances and move, or are moved, to another...

But the frameworks used to study migration - derived from demography, political economy, political science, or the sociology of minorities - generally fail to cope adequately with the complexities of culture (1992:3, 4)

I will take up these points later in the chapter.

Indeed, the ultimate challenge to these macro-level, 'Western' interpretations of the Polynesian diaspora and development issues presented itself in a ground-breaking essay by eminent Tongan scholar, Epeli Hau'ofa. Published in 1993, the year of the 25th anniversary of the University of the South Pacific, Hau'ofa declared the end of his collaboration in what he described as the belittling view:

...that the countries of Polynesia and Micronesia are too small, too poor and too isolated to develop any meaningful degree of autonomy, (which) is an economic and geographic deterministic view of a very narrow kind, that overlooks culture history, and the contemporary process of what may be called 'world enlargement' carried out by tens of thousands of ordinary Pacific islanders right across the ocean from east to west and north to south, under the very noses of academic and consultancy experts, regional and international development agencies, bureaucratic planners and their advisers, and customs and immigration officials, making nonsense of all national and economic boundaries, borders that have been defined only recently, crisscrossing an ocean that had been boundless for ages before Captain Cook's apotheosis (1993:6).⁴⁷

Suddenly the previously guarded geographic, cultural, social, political and physical boundaries of the Polynesian diaspora were called into serious question.⁴⁸ As intimated in the above passage, Hau'ofa challenged these boundaries in four important ways. Firstly, by questioning physical boundaries: in particular, he questioned the popular foreign perception of island states as small areas of visible land rather than sharing the island peoples' perception of their universe, perpetuated in their myths, legends, oral traditions and cosmologies, as comprising not only the land, but the surrounding ocean. As he succinctly explained: "There is a gulf of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands' (Hau'ofa, 1993:7). Rather than being hopelessly small, Hau'ofa relegated the smallness encapsulated by physical and geographic boundaries to a mere a state of mind - and one that is not shared by Islanders. His preference for the term 'Oceania' rather than 'Pacific Islands' illustrated this view, as a way of overcoming a connotation in the latter term of small areas of land surfaces in the ocean. By emphasising the connectivity of the ocean, as a sea that unites not divides, a dramatically different interpretation of international migration was made possible.

The international boundaries and oceanic distances which, in the White man's construction of planetary space signify difference and isolation, are traversed by a specifically Tongan set of social and cultural relationships (Sahlins, 1996:41).

I will return to this point later in the chapter.

Secondly, Hau'ofa's essay challenged social and political boundaries in understanding the dependent state of Island states. Previously held understandings (such as the models I described before) were said to be those of 'national governments and regional and international diplomacy', macroscopic, panoptic visions. However, while consultants, local intellectuals, bureaucrats and the like were espousing their views on the causes and consequences of development, dependency and international

migration, the everyday Polynesian was simply getting on with their life. Hau'ofa said that they:

...tend to plan and make decisions about their lives independently, sometimes with surprising and dramatic results that go unnoticed or ignored at the top....Thus views of the Pacific from the level of macroeconomics and macropolitics often differ markedly from those from the level of ordinary people (1993:2-3).

The idea of a burden of dependency and emigration at the level of individual Island polities, therefore, is not one shared by all nationals of an island country. Rather, there is another experience of emigration and development being shared by ordinary people, horizontally crossing the boundaries of nations and states. In terms of dependency and emigration, Hau'ofa (1993:12) exclaimed that while the world of Oceania may no longer include the heavens and the underworld, it now encompasses the great cities of Australia, the US, New Zealand and Canada, and it is in this expanded world that the extent of the people's resources should be measured.

The third type of boundary challenged by Hau'ofa was one of cultural identity. In his own 'world enlargement', Hau'ofa spoke not of the Polynesians, Micronesians, Tongans, or Samoans, but instead of the 'people of Oceania'. While he included references to Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, this was because he considered the terms were already part of the 'cultural consciousness of the peoples of Oceania' (cf. Thomas, 1997).⁴⁹ He argued, however, that these tripartite divisions imposed by Europeans did not eradicate the ways in which people mingled in the vast sea (Hau'ofa, 1993:16). Regardless of the specificities of their post-colonial historical experiences, or any national socio-economic indicators that might effect emigration, the people of Oceania were depicted as sharing a collective and connected world view that had not been understood in previous analyses. In this process the boundaries of cultural identity were broadened to reassert an earlier shared Oceanic experience of movement and interchange. As Hau'ofa described:

Theirs was a large world in which peoples and cultures moved and mingled unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers. From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flow of wealth. They travelled to visit relatives in a wide variety of natural and cultural surroundings, to quench their thirst for adventure, and even to fight and dominate (1993:8).

It is interesting how his view echoes the earlier sentiments of Bishop Finau who lamented the imposition and maintenance of these boundaries in contemporary Tongan emigration. Most importantly, Hau'ofa has highlighted not just the pervasive fluidity in the natural world of Oceania, but also a transcendent cultural vision in the perceptions of Oceanic peoples. Sahlins (1996) described Hau'ofa's vision as one of a transcultural society - a term which I consider useful and deploy later in the chapter.

A fourth boundary challenged in his essay were the limits of academic analysis. By espousing the realities of ordinary people at the grassroots against the more abstract interpretations of macro-level analysis, Hau'ofa exposed a gap in current understandings of emigration - one concerning how the people involved may perceive the phenomenon, and how migration might be differently explained through an understanding of Oceanic beliefs and practices (that is, culture). This gap is not surprising when the perceived boundaries of disciplines in scholarship can sometimes be self-limiting, as I mentioned earlier. Consider, for example, a recent statement about the analysis of tradition:

Political scientists tend to be concerned with larger-scale societies, states and nations, whereas anthropologists often spend long periods in small places in an attempt to describe their subjects' traditions as thoroughly as possible (Ewins, 1995:12)

So, how can one incorporate a consideration of culture in an analysis of Tongan emigration to Australia? And what possibilities have been opened up by Hau'ofa's essay for a consideration of culture in the Polynesian diaspora? In my case, Hau'ofa's essay called into question my earlier understanding of the Tongan diaspora. I had previously struggled to find my own measure of authenticity between what I was

observing amongst Tongans in Canberra, and what I had previously come to understand as the essential aspects of Tongan emigration. Issues that were vital in the literature often seemed distant or difficult to relate to what was happening on the ground, particularly in the context of overseas community dynamics.⁵⁰ Drawing on an idea I introduced in a preliminary paper written at the end of 1994,⁵¹ I chose to consider the Tongan diaspora to Australia in terms of a 'culture of migration' and a 'migration of culture'. However, as a result of further reading and thinking I have now modified the couplet to one that focuses on 'migration in culture' and 'culture in migration'.⁵² In particular, I was concerned not to convey an impression of fixity in either of the terms 'migration' or 'culture' as both are processes, not states. In addition, as Bottomley (1992:45) stressed, I am aware that such processes must be understood within particular socio-historical contexts. I also did not want the couplet to be understood as implying a fundamental opposition, but as one part forming a complementary and sometimes conflictual relation to the other. This formulation provides the framework for the rest of the chapter, firstly describing the context in which Tongan migration to Australia is occurring, and secondly enabling a consideration of the complexities of culture and migration while exploring those boundaries that have become so problematic. The definition of culture that I have adopted is that of Bottomley - "those ideas, beliefs and practices through which people negotiate their conditions of existence" (1997:42). My references to migration primarily concern international migration, although the influences of other migratory movements are also recognised.

Migration in Culture

Also and always, anthropologists will have to bear witness to culture.
(Sahlins, 1996:34)

Why do thousands of Tongans voluntarily and unceasingly leave their homeland to settle in foreign countries? What has instigated the mass exodus from Tonga? Why do Tongans tend to maintain transnational linkages of incredible strength and continuity? As we have seen, for the past two decades a range of politico-economic answers have been readily forthcoming, culminating in the two dominant models which have pervaded our understanding of this phenomenon. But are there deeper, cultural aspects in migration that should be considered? I think there are, and while some scholars have acknowledged a link between the two,⁵³ culture has tended to remain an integral but perhaps under-examined aspect of Tongan emigration for some time. The way I propose to address this problem is to firstly consider how migration has become integral to Tongan culture.

Historical Considerations

While the international Tongan diaspora is recent, its roots are not. In addition to ancient traditions of voyaging and movement as illuminated by Hau'ofa (cf. Finney, 1994a), other processes have occurred that have nurtured an acceptance of migration as a possible, if not probable, aspect of Tongan culture. Many scholars have acknowledged that the process of migration is not new in Tonga (for example, van der Grijp, 1993; McCall and Connell, 1993) and, as Tongamoa observed: "Though the pace, direction and character of migration in and from Tonga has changed, movement and change in themselves are not new phenomena in Tonga" (1987:36). According to Tongamoa, the historical development of Tongan migration can be accounted for in three successive phases:

- (i) pre-1870s intra-regional migration;
- (ii) 1870s-1970s internal migration; and
- (iii) 1970s - present international migration.

For each of these phases, I will briefly describe the characteristics of Tongan social organisation and migratory patterns to chart the integration of migration into Tongan culture.

(i) *pre-1870s*

The first phase of Tongan intra-regional migration occurred during the reign of the Tu'i Tonga empire (or kingship line of the time), which spanned from around the 10th Century to the 19th Century. Migration at this time was characterised by inter-island wars in which the main purpose of migrating was to conquer neighbouring islands, found colonies and collect tribute (Tongamoa, 1987; Lafitani, 1992:99, 100). It is generally agreed that Tongan society during this period consisted of a ranked social strata incorporating four major strata: the line of paramounts, *tu'i*; then the chiefs, *'eiki*; then the chiefs' assistants and attendants, *matāpule*; and fourthly, the commoners, *tu'a*, who made up the bulk of the population (Morton, 1987:51). While politics and warfare were the prerogative of titled persons, the commoners were soldiers of the lowest rank. Commoners could not hold rights in objects of wealth, nor resources, beyond those allowed by chiefs.

Tongan society consisted of homesteads, *'api*, which were dispersed on the lands of a chief and under the authority of the *'ulu*, (head), who oversaw the organisation of production at the lowest level (Morton, 1987:52,53). The *'ulu* was also the social link between the homestead and the next highest level of organisation, the *fa'ahinga*, which embraced several *'api* and was headed by the *'ulumotu'a*, or principal head, who was at least of *matāpule* status. Several *fa'ahinga*, through common descent from the original title-holder, formed the *kāinga* under the authority of the current title holder, *'eiki*. The *'eiki* of the *kāinga* received a grant of land from the Tu'i Tonga. Access to land for commoners, therefore, depended upon kinship links between the *'ulu*, and the

'ulumotu'a, and *'eiki* (Morton, 1987:53). In return for access to his land, the *'eiki* demanded goods and services from his tenants (Morton, 1987:54).

This first phase of migration and the social organisation of the time came to an end during the early half of the 19th Century after a series of civil wars reduced Tongan overseas strength (Tongamoa, 1987:37), and the increasing influence of Christian missionaries had induced a shift in the nature of intra-regional migration from one of conquest to one of missionary activity (Lafitani, 1992:101). In addition to these developments a political transformation occurred that led Tonga into its second phase of migration. This was the ascendancy of Taufa'ahau to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu who, with the aid of Wesleyan missionaries, became Tonga's first constitutional monarch in 1875 (Morton, 1987:51).

(ii) 1870s - 1970s

The second phase of Tongan internal migration occurred between the 1870s and 1970s. Aware of increasing European colonisation of Polynesia, King Taufa'ahau Tupou I's declaration of a constitutional monarchy for Tonga followed his treaty making with foreign powers to secure formal recognition of Tonga's political independence (Marcus, 1981:51). The Tongan Constitution introduced a number of important changes, such as hereditary estates and titles, an independent legal structure, a national currency, restricted immigration, and land protection. The structure of legislature and representation became one of a compromise between chiefly leadership and representational democracy (Hills, 1993:119, 123).

Morton stated, however, that of all of the social and political changes that occurred during the establishment of the monarchy, individualised land tenure was the most significant in shaping modern Tongan social organisation (1987:54-55). Land laws freed commoners from their material dependence on chiefs for access to land, but

also from the entire social hierarchy that previously linked commoners to chiefs and defined social groups at the local level. These laws also had important implications for women who, as I discuss in chapter four, did not receive the same entitlement to land as men.⁵⁴ The land tenure system exerted pressure on kin to approximate more Western forms of kin relations, as households of independent nuclear families. Populations also became clustered into villages rather than homesteads (Morton, 1987:55).

Throughout and beyond these developments Tongan society evolved and changed. With the indigenisation of Christianity commencing in the nineteenth century, Tongan culture became fused with Christianity or, in Helu's term, "missionary culture", resulting in what was once described as a "compromise culture" (Helu, 1992:8; see also reference to Marcus in chapter one). These changes to the family and the state resulting from Christian practice had important ramifications for Tongan women (see Gailey, 1980, 1987).

During the reign of Tupou II (1893-1917) Tonga became a British Protectorate. This arrangement was later fostered by Queen Salote as an asset to her culturally conservative reign from 1917-1965 (Marcus, 1981:51). Marcus noted, however, that Tonga experienced a 'hothouse' type of development during the reign of these first three monarchs, that is Tupou I, Tupou II, and Queen Salote. This development fostered internal migration and urbanisation, primarily from outer islands to the main island of Tongatapu and the capital, Nuku'alofa, as people were attracted to its newly developed employment opportunities, and education and health services (Tongamoa, 1987:38). Internal migration and rapid population growth created village communities in Tonga in which kinship could not function as the dominant or single mode of interaction. Coresidence also provided the basis for mutual aid, cooperation and other interactions (Morton, 1987:55).

While Tongan migration during this period was predominantly internal, Lafitani (1992:103) observed that some individual emigration to Western societies (including temporary migration) did occur for educational, religious, socio-political or medical reasons. However, these opportunities were usually only available at this time to political or religious elites. While I am not suggesting that internal migration during this second phase of migration was a necessary aspect of Tongan culture, I am proposing that internal migration became one culturally acceptable option through which people negotiated their 'conditions of existence'. Further to this, Tongamoa described the subsequent transition from internal to international migration of Tongans as one of continuity: "Even though the change was basically in terms of distance, the general characteristics of the move remained the same" (1987:39). In this sense, international migration became an equally acceptable option in Tongan culture.

(iii) 1970s - present

By the 1960s and 1970s the declining fertility and availability of land, along with unemployment, overcrowding and urban problems, changed the nature of population movement in Tonga (Tongamoa, 1987:39). Paralleling these developments were the increasing opportunities for overseas employment and education in Pacific rim countries, such as guest worker schemes in New Zealand. In addition coinciding with, and largely as a result of, Tupou IV's rule, Tonga began to experience increasing international migration of its citizens from 1965. Marcus described Tupou IV's reign as "the internationalisation of Tongan culture", characterised by two important developments (1981:54). One was his aggressive seeking of foreign capital to fund major projects; and the second was the shortage of land coupled with the Tongans' "fascination with the sources of the influences that have changed their society". In other words, Tonga was developing as a nation-state, simultaneously as the Tongan

people were developing as a dispersed population (Marcus, 1981:55). Perhaps for the first time in Tonga's history its nation-state boundary, in which the territory and the people had been described by Ward as historically coterminous, began to split apart (1996:63). I consider that this split between Tonga as a state and Tongans as a nation provides a vital clue in understanding the more remarkable features of the diasporic phenomenon we are witnessing today.

To explore this notion further, the definitions of 'nation' and 'state' provided by Smolicz are particularly useful:

...a state is an entirely different entity from that of the nation, in that it refers to the political and legal dimensions of managing the resources of a country. This includes issues relating to citizenship and political governance... (1997:177).

Nation, on the other hand, may be observed as a collectivity actively identified with a range of cultural values that are perceived as reflective of its past and an influence on both its present existence and future development (1997:178).

The key point which Smolicz continues to make is that:

While a state is grounded in a particular territory, the nation can extend over many parts of the globe and assert its cultural identity across continents (1997:178).

What we have witnessed over the past three decades is thus a progressive split between the Tongan state, which is grounded within particular island territory boundaries; and the Tongan nation, which is embodied in the Tongan people who, through international migration, have extended 'over many parts of the globe' and have asserted their cultural identity as Tongans in different states. This perception of Tongan international migration therefore opens up a range of possibilities, some of which will be considered later in this chapter.

The distinction between the two concepts – state and nation – is vital in order to transcend previously held approaches to Tongan migration rooted in geography, demography and other disciplines, and to approach an understanding of migration in culture. Consider, for example, an unobserved dualism in the literature relating to

Tongan migration. I earlier noted an observation from Connell that in the South Pacific:

...migration has tended to contribute to marginalization, peripheralization and dependency and...the burdens of these changes tend to be experienced by women rather than men (1984:978).

However, around the same time, Marcus (1981) noted an alternative perception of power amongst Tonga's new elite families. These families were based in Nuku'alofa with linkages to both their outer islands of origin as well to those overseas. They made niches for themselves during the 'hothouse' period of development in new institutions controlled by the kingship and church organisations. Collectively these families became the accumulators and redistributors of local resources in Tongan society through their positions in government and church hierarchies (Marcus, 1981:53).

So how do we equate Marcus' 'power on the extreme periphery' with Connell's 'peripheralisation'? One answer could be that they may be commenting on two different groups of people - elites and non-elites. However, I suggest that Marcus was alluding to aspects of development of a Tongan nation or collectivity which, while having its locus in the Tongan state, extended beyond the state.⁵⁵ Connell, on the other hand, was perhaps alluding to the situation in South Pacific states such as Tonga, and applied this general condition to its people. To borrow Sahlins (1996:27-28) terminology, perhaps Connell was referring to migration in terms of development, while Marcus was referring to migration in terms of *developman*, or the development of people who are able to give their own meanings to foreign things.⁵⁶ Indeed, Marcus makes a similar point in his claim:

...the capacity to call on international resources, continually or on important occasions, has become a crucial factor in influencing (a family's) local economic conditions. The lowest stratum in contemporary Tonga are those totally dependent on the nation-state framework and the limited resources it embodies without any overseas options at all (1981:58).

Moreover as Hau'ofa (1993:12) has suggested, in order to measure the 'development' and 'resources' of Tonga, the global dimensions of the Tongan nation should be considered in addition to those of its state. In relation to the third phase of Tongan migration, however, I suggest that the Tongan people have continued to 'develop' in their own ways as in *developman*, while the Tongan state has perhaps stagnated according to well-documented measures of 'development'. I consider that those migration theories that have emerged from laments over the perceived lack of Tonga's development in the past three decades have been too closely tied to the state of Tonga, and are therefore inadequate for considering what is happening at the 'grassroots' of villages, towns and foreign cities, and how overseas communities are developing and relating. While development and the spatial aspects of migration may be measured at the physical boundaries of states, the migratory outcomes of human agency cannot be thus prescribed. In addition, the distinction between Tonga's nation and state enables the fundamental cultural connection between Tonga and the migration of its people to be understood, along the lines of Walsh's possibility that an individual "belongs more to his family than to a place" (1969:97, in Cowling, 1990a:295).

In more recent years, connections have been made between the modern Tongan diaspora and a reassertion of earlier voyaging traditions in response to perceived state-based limitations. As McCall and Connell claimed:

Migration, an ancient Islander characteristic, has now become for many Pacific places, the most important contemporary stratagem for survival in their 'MIRAB' economies...(1993:4)

However, I suggest that while Tonga's modern international migratory phenomenon may have originally been a response to the limitations of the state, three decades later the Tongan nation has developed beyond these state boundaries to provide its own justification and rationalisation for migration. Indeed, these modern justifications for migration may derive added meaning through a conscious reassertion of voyaging

traditions;⁵⁷ but my interest here is in how the contemporary Tongan nation has incorporated international migration to other states as part of its identity, thereby giving these migratory behaviours distinctly Tongan characteristics.

But at this point we cannot ignore the problematic conjunction of the concepts 'nation' and 'state' in relation to the notion of 'nationalism'.⁵⁸ Akzin spoke of the "political phenomenon of the state and the ethnic phenomenon of the nation" in which nations, as "more-than-local ethnic groups", decisively influence political structures (1964:7). He considered these concepts as being ancient and widespread phenomena, unlike Castles et.al (1988) who described them as modern phenomena. Akzin described nationalism, on the other hand, as the "consciousness" of belonging to a nation coupled with an active urge to perpetuate and strengthen national bonds by various means, including political ones. This he considered to be a more recent phenomenon (1964:46). Castles et.al. however, considered that nationalism "is based on the idea that every ethnic group or nation should have its own state" (1988:9). While Akzin (1964:206) predicted the nation-state would become "the rule" as a basis for statehood, Castles et.al (1988:139-140) regarded it as "questionable" as a fundamental human collective and, by implication, the relevance of nationalism. Bottomley however, cautioned against the potentially dangerous association of nationalism with an ethnic common ancestry, in which nationality is largely determined by "a law of the blood" (1997:45).

The significance of this problematic relationship between nation, state and nationalism to the migration of the Tongan nation into various overseas states is that, for some, nationalism implies nation-state boundaries. This suggests a tension exists between an individual's 'loyalty' to and 'identification' with non-coterminous states and nations through their migration. It also emphasises that identifications in nationalism are based more on ethnicity than cultural identity and, by implication, on

'blood' more than 'performance' as Linnekin and Poyer (1990) distinguished in chapter one. Underlying this is an assumption of a Western notion of personhood in which persons (or 'nationals') are depicted as discrete beings who are bounded by their skins and possessing distinct attributes. This is in contrast to an Oceanic notion of personhood in which persons are defined by their relationships to other people and to things. In this a person is a 'locus of shared biographies', or a 'consociate' (see Howard, 1990:262). I therefore do not necessarily see that the earlier assumptions of nationalism hold in relation to Tongan diasporic nationalisms, which invoke the more important elements of situation, context, consocial personhood and performance in creating and maintaining linkages. Moreover, their transnational loyalty to the Tongan nation might relegate them to minority status in the Australian state (in ways suggested in chapter two). Further, as some scholars predicted, the energies of the state may focus increasingly on the ethnic and cultural domains, although for different reasons. For Akzin this would occur because economic and military policies would be increasingly inter-state focused, while the "ethnic criterion" would gain significance as the basis for statehood (1964:206). For Castles et.al. this is because the concept of the nation has become ideological and exclusionary, failing to embrace most of the population, and the need for human identity to become "transnational" (1988:148, 13). In relation to the state, as discussed further in chapter five, the links between 'nationalism' and 'community' become important. Castles et.al., for example, called for 'community without nation' as an appropriate way forward for nationalism within multicultural Australia (1988:148).

Migration and Contemporary Tongan Culture

In his portrayal of Tonga's elite families Marcus observed that most Tongans had "instrumental linkages of some sort" with those overseas, adding that the present

King's development aims "are thus in part an effort to retain the Tongan state as the centre of a society in centrifugal motion" (1981:61). The effects of migration, telecommunications, travel, education and religion on Tongan cultural modes of existence are well documented, and it is not my intention to review these here. Morton, for example, observed that the *'eiki/tu'a* distinction in the hierarchical organisation of Tongan society and social relations has been gradually 'leveled' since the mid-nineteenth century, with international migration and travel being two important forces in this process during the twentieth century (1996:23).⁵⁹ Another example of the impact of migration on Tongan culture is the rising popularity of the Mormon church in Tonga, which is currently the fastest growing denomination in Tonga partly due to the associated drawcards of going to Salt Lake City to live and work, or to the Brigham Young University in Hawai'i to study (Helu, 1988:24-5; van der Grijp, 1993:154).

I am interested, rather, in how Tongan culture has embraced and bestowed migration with its own hallmark of authenticity. Key Tongan cultural institutions,⁶⁰ such as the family and the church, have played vital roles in authenticating migration in Tongan culture. This, I believe, has had the effect of enabling the institutions of Tongan culture to gain a measure of control and ownership of the migratory process and concomitant migratory behaviours amongst Tongans overseas, often causing considerable confusion and struggle in the lives of Tongan migrants overseas (sometimes, but not always negative in effect). This assertion is akin to Cowling's (1990a:9, 12) description of Tongan social control in Tonga,⁶¹ and Lafitani's (1992:30-35) description of the church in an overseas context on one hand providing valuable welfare support for migrants, but on the other hand prescribing appropriate behaviours for Tongans which may not complement life in the new environment of Australia.⁶² This 'control' becomes possible when migration is understood through

Ravuvu's (1992) enlightening description of Pacific Islanders' need for security and confidence. Here one learns how religion, communication and education, for example, have enabled Islanders to overcome their fears of the "strange world" and operate with confidence in a new cultural context (Ravuvu, 1992:332). More importantly, Ravuvu (1992:336) observed how pioneering Pacific Islanders with self-confidence, who risked leaving a familiar environment for an unfamiliar one overseas, became the source of encouragement and security for the next wave of migrants.

Accepting that key cultural institutions (such as the church, family, and those in the wider community) have the potential to facilitate and exert control over Tongan migration and migrants, opens the possibility that they can also become the sites of struggle for Tongan migrants in an overseas context. Two important factors in these struggles, relevant to wider migration analysis, are the concepts of individualisation and status. Parallel to research interests into the independence or passiveness of women's migratory moves, and their adaptive strategies (chapter two), has been a broad interest in the extent of migrants' transition from kin-based to more individualistic modes of existence. A popular perception is that overseas migration and economic independence can often lead to increased individualisation and higher levels of status for 'successful' migrants. Individualisation in this sense is often seen as a Western phenomenon and as a product of migration and human agency. This, however, is only one possibility. In relation to cultural controls over Tongan migratory experiences, two other patterns have also been observed. The first possibility is that described by Lafitani for Tongans in Canberra:

...while struggling for socio-economic self-sufficiency, Tongans have experienced that the cultural values and behaviour they brought with them were not readily adaptable to a morality of individualism, conflict and independence.

Ego has acquired better wages and skill-expansion but his or her cultural upbringing and aspirations continue to challenge and hinder any socio-economic progress or economic accumulation. Ego demands more money and new work skills for livelihood but his or her cultural morals act as a destroyer and a consumer (1992:92)

This observation suggests that individualism and individual aspirations for enhanced socio-economic status work in opposition to group codes of existence overseas, and that cultural pressures temper the extremes of individualism amongst the overseas community. A second possibility, however, beyond the notion of Western individualism, echoes Hayes' earlier comments that some Tongans pursue individual gains for the purpose of status seeking among the wider kin group, notwithstanding that status has many forms. As Geddes explained:

In all Tongan social relations there is a constant tension between self-promotion within the kin group and advancement of the kin group. Both are necessary for genuine achievement of individualised status. Emigrants, and those who remain in Tonga, are bound together by the recognised need that each has of the other, both for status recognition, and for status advancement (1988:85).

These fascinating perceptions, and how the two factors of status seeking and individualisation are played out within the sites of struggle, will be explored throughout this thesis. One purpose of raising them now is to illustrate that migration is an integral part of Tongan culture - and that the cultural institutions which facilitate migration (such as the church, family, and community collectivities) may also serve to exert a measure of control over behaviours in an overseas context. Of course the extent of these controls varies according to the specificity of individual experience, and does not negate the ultimate (and, I suspect, varied) control exerted by the state in determining migratory flows and influencing lived experiences overseas (whether a migrant resides in New Zealand, the United States, or Australia, for example).

Culture in Migration

When considering the first part of the migration/culture relation, I focused on the cultural incorporation of migration as a spatial movement effecting the physical displacement of Tongans from the state of origin of Tongan culture to an overseas environment. In this discussion, I referred to culture fairly broadly, keeping in mind

Bottomley's earlier definition. In addition, I referred to a Tongan nation in a unitary sense. But can these assumptions be sustained? If a nation is understood as a collectivity with its own cultural identity, is there a Tongan nation? And, by implication, can we also speak of a Tongan culture? Points such as these need to be clarified and, as I mentioned earlier, some scholars have begun to address these broader issues of identity, tradition, and cultural authenticity in the Pacific Islands and Tongan diaspora.

There are four important perceptions of culture that are relevant to migration in this chapter. As mentioned earlier, culture as a process cannot and should not be fixed. Culture is not a package that can be folded into a migrant's baggage and transported in its entirety. Culture is not static and to suggest otherwise would be to ignore the possibility that migrants keep the elements of their culture that they can use, and discard those that are no longer needed in a new environment. However, as Morton noted, the question of which parts may be discarded while retaining cultural identity must be a contentious one for Tongans (1998a:165). Rather, as Linnekin suggested, the term 'culture' should be acknowledged as a Western category and as a useful heuristic tool rather than a 'thing' (1992:254). Also in the context of migration, a notion of culture conceived as "books, pieces of music, plays, rituals" is not sufficient to understand what Bottomley also described as "the fluidity of cultural forms" and the "flow of social relations in cultural processes" (1992:7).

The second perception of culture, documented in a migrant context, is one of culture as being anachronistic. Linked to this perception is the notion that culture equates to 'tradition'. Using Bourdieu's concepts, Cowling (1990a:346) considered that a 'doxic' mode generally persists both in Tongan society and overseas communities whereby "great deference is offered to concepts of tradition". Where this becomes particularly interesting is when those people overseas aim to strictly preserve a

traditional notion of culture in their conditions of existence, perhaps thereby quarantining the cultural process from wider surrounding influences. In these cases, overseas concepts of a traditional culture can be anachronistic when compared to the culture of the home state. By way of example, in an interview in 1993, the editor of *Matangi Tonga* offered a description and an explanation for this behaviour amongst Tongans overseas:

As the Tongans drift far away from home, some of them seem to value it more, and they start reviving all of their traditions...[Some things] not practiced (sic) here, you'd be surprised to find them being practiced (sic) by Tongans living [in] Sydney, Auckland, and all those places. The majority are very traditional in their thinking.... Once they're going in to the Western ways of life...they feel a bit homesick. They feel lost. So they try to get back to where they are comfortable. (Fonua in Ewins, 1995:203)

This reassertion of so-called traditional forms of culture in the Tongan migrant context is distinct from invented notions of tradition, which Jolly and Thomas opposed in preference for a notion of 'constructed' traditions which can be and are continually created (1992:242-243). They noted, however, that even by employing this more neutral term there can still remain problematic relations of constructs of tradition between local, national and regional levels in the Pacific. Consistent with Marcus' earlier observations, Cowling remarked on the great power of the Tongan notion of a "social order which should be maintained so that tradition should be fulfilled and the nation itself sustained..." (1990a:346). She noted that the success of the Tongan ruling classes in achieving continuity in this process has meant Tongans today do not need to consciously revive past cultural values or practices. Rather, as Morton explained, (citing Linnekin) Tongan values as symbols of a cultural past can acquire new meaning and become emotionally weighty in the present. These values (as mentioned below) are central to cultural identity. She claimed that in a context of rapid social change, Tongans both overseas and in Tonga "are more self-consciously Tongan than ever before" (1996:259).

The possibility that Tongan culture in a migrant context could be different to Tongan culture in Tonga, or elsewhere, leads to a third perception of culture: one that may have many variations or 'subcultures'. Ward noted the possibility that "...subcultures such as those of Californian Tongans or Australian Tongans have their own validity alongside those of the residents of Tonga itself" (1996:71). Yet he saw cultural identity as being more widely defined than the boundaries of different subcultures. For example he argued that it is possible, within a Pan-Pacific identity, to recognise a general Tongan identity which could include a variety of subsets (Ward, 1996:72). This, he recognised, would raise a number of questions, such as where the core of a culture could be found if expatriates outnumber those at home (1996:73)? But I consider that such interpretations of subcultures and subsets imply an artificial boundedness and fixity that is characteristic of ascribed ethnic identities (as in ethnic communities) rather than of fluid cultural identities and linkages across the Tongan nation (see below).

Here Sahlin's reference (1996) to Tonga as a transcultural society deserves further consideration. Hau'ofa (1993) noted the extent of transnational linkages between the Tongan state and its diasporic nations. In contemporary times these linkages assume the form of photography and video as I mentioned in chapter one, as well as international financial transactions, personal and public remittances,⁶³ 'living remittances'⁶⁴ of children, travel, visitations, telephone calls, letters, and the contested concept of a transnational corporation of kin, to name a few. All of these entail fluidity or movement. A recent metaphor used to illustrate this fluidity was Ward's use of the term, 'anastomosing migration', which was partly derived from the anastomosis of river systems "which divide and then rejoin in a web of interconnected channels" (1996:68). As we will see in chapter five, distinguishing Tongan identities across the nation along ethnic and cultural lines, rather than by rigid locational subsets, allows

the possibility that cultural identities, variously defined, can be translated into a number of ethnic identities within one state.

The fourth perception of culture in migration was best articulated by Ward who observed:

Migrants are often placed in a cultural no-man's land, and the cultural place of the people now in this no-man's land is one of the most important elements in the future of Oceania's diaspora (1996:71).

The possibility that migrants have no clearly defined cultural identity, or have multiple identities (as Canberra Tongans, Tongans, Polynesians, or Pacific Islanders for example) is an important point to ponder. Current research on diasporic cultural authenticity and identity has already prompted the probing question of 'how Tongan is a Tongan?' in the overseas context of Melbourne (Morton, 1998a). And yet this poses the prior question of 'what is a Tongan?', and the relevance of the Tongan/*pālāngi* descriptors employed by Tongans. To quote Helu:

The island migrants are a persecuted lot. In the social field they are encircled by hostile cultures. In the economic domain they are exploited by the churches. So far as I can see the only way for them to function with some measure of dignity is to give up their own cultures and adopt those of their new homes - cultures that are based on individualism, thrift, acquisitiveness and independence. But they don't have options, really. Environment and experience shall see that they embrace just those values (1991:8).

In this example, as elsewhere, the concepts of 'Tongan' and '*pālāngi*' are often essentialised by Tongans and others in the literature as:

Tongan	<i>Pālāngi</i>
communalism	individualism
share	acquire
extended family	nuclear family
consociate	individual
dependence	independence
control	freedom
monarchy	democracy
accept	question
hierarchy	equality
fun	serious
duty (<i>fatongia</i>)	choice
respect (<i>faka'apa'apa</i>)	selectivity / self

This schema risks over-simplifying some concepts core to Tongan society and personhood.⁶⁵ For a more detailed treatment of these in relation to *anga fakatonga*, particularly the “polysemic” term ‘*ofa* (love) which collectively embraces many of these singular Tongan concepts, see Cowling (1990a), Morton (1996) in particular;⁶⁶ and also Lafitani’s (1992) distinguishing markers of Tongan and Australian values in Canberra (see chapter five).

Once the idea of a Tongan ‘nation’ or transcultural society, characterised by the cultures of particular collectivities that are related across states is accepted, what happens when the Tongan transcultural nation migrates to Australia’s multicultural state? Once again, the boundaries are called into question. In analytic terms this is the relation between ethnicity and cultural identity.⁶⁷ Morton noted that the term ‘cultural identity’ in the politics of tradition literature usually only referred to people within their ‘home’ culture, while ‘ethnic identity’ has been applied to the same people who move to another setting as migrants or refugees. Morton preferred to use cultural identity in the migrant setting as she considered ethnic identity implies an identity within a bounded group, whereas cultural identity is more flexible, “allowing for overlap and hybridity.” She also believed that such continued arbitrary use of these terms perpetuated “problematic dichotomies such as modern/traditional and inauthentic/authentic” (1998b:3-4). While I agree with her argument for considering cultural identity overseas, I cannot help but wonder what happens when a transcultural nation of global proportions is bounded by Australia into the state fiction of a local ‘community’. I support Morton’s desire to abandon the dichotomies perpetuated in the “false and unnecessary distinction” between cultural identity and ethnic identity in home/host settings (1998b:4). But I nevertheless consider that the role of the Australian state in defining Tongan cultural identity through ethnicity is vital. For this reason a consideration of ‘ethnic’ identity overseas cannot simply be

dismissed. Both are complex and related social processes. Yet at times the ascription of an 'ethnic identity' on Tongans in Canberra can sometimes obscure or 'fix' the cultural and political processes that have brought it about. This, and Tongans' awareness, acceptance, and even encouragement of their ethnic identity in a multicultural context, will be considered further in chapter five. At this point, however, the complexity of culture in migration in the Australian context is best summarised by Bottomley:

Since the idea of culture has been so firmly associated with national or folk identity, state policies such as multiculturalism define cultures in ethnic terms... and ...The elision of culture and ethnicity denotes minority status. (1992:54)

What this suggests is that my consideration of a culture or identity of a Tongan overseas community must take into account both the dominant social order, and how Tongans in Canberra respond to this reality and deploy different models. To emphasise the importance of this notion, consider the following example. Bottomley (1992:44) noted that in societies formed by migration of people of different origins, the legitimacy of the dominant social order can often be brought into question, not only through intellectual activity, but when everyday experience does not fit the orthodoxy. However, in the case of Tongan migrants, Lafitani claimed that they generally do not have the socio-economic and political qualities to exert influence in the social or political affairs of Western countries (1992:91). Although, at the same time, Lafitani observed an assertion of chiefly status and preservation of religions amongst Tongans in the Canberra migrant community, suggesting that there may be a tension between their relegation to a minority ethnic community in the multicultural state, and their possibilities to gain power within their community (1992:95). I assume that this tension is most obvious between Tongans' cultural identity in the transcultural nation, and their publicly asserted or ascribed ethnic identity in the multicultural state. Again, as Bottomley succinctly explains:

Some of the tensions in the practice of multiculturalism...derive from the fact that immigrants are brought into Australia from various nation-states, thus identified at official levels in ways that may bear little relevance to self-identification (1997:46).

Areas of overlap between the Tongan nation and the Australian nation-state will be particularly interesting to consider. Yet negotiations over Tongans' identity and culture do not always occur within tangible, physical places. Recent research has also pointed to these negotiations being freely played out over the Internet in the Kava Bowl site (see Morton, 1998a:150), suggesting ancient voyaging and oceanic connections similar to those espoused by Hau'ofa, germane to contemporary 'world enlargement' (cf. Finney, 1994a; Nero, 1997).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored what I consider to be a fundamental theme in the Tongan diaspora - the negotiating and defining of boundaries that are essentially fluid. My consideration of migration in culture and culture in migration aimed to introduce a different approach to understanding the Polynesian and Tongan diaspora in Australia by focusing on two of the fundamental processes involved. By recognising the fluidity of cultural and migratory processes, I consider that we can learn more about the difficulties in applying boundaries to the contours of this global phenomenon, and the limitations of adopting a facile home/host distinction. Most importantly, my approach suggests that the process of testing boundaries is continuous. How these struggles are played out in the context of Canberra Tongan community dynamics will be the focus of chapter five. Firstly, however, I will consider the gendered character of Tongan migration to Canberra.

⁴² Thomas (1997:174) reminded us that the boundaries of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, as understood in contemporary anthropology, geography and related disciplines, were originally devised by the navigator, Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville in 1832. Thomas explained that Dumont d'Urville's scheme was similar to that of Rienzi (1836-37) "whose *Océanie*...provided the key synthesis of ethnographic and geographic knowledge concerning Oceania for the mid-nineteenth century."

⁴³ Postgraduate theses on aspects of the Tongan diaspora are currently being undertaken by Siosua Lafitani of Canberra (in addition to his Masters of Letters thesis completed in 1992); Steve Francis, University of Melbourne; Tui Filise, Macquarie University; and Finau Kolo, Auckland University. Helen Morton of La Trobe University is also undertaking research on Tongan children and migration in Melbourne.

⁴⁴ Chapman (1991), in Hayes (1992:280).

⁴⁵ The elements of the MIRAB model are: MI - migration; R - remittances; A - aid financed; B - bureaucracy (Bertram and Watters, 1986:47).

⁴⁶ See, for example, Connell's recent (1995) interest in literary works on migration which I referred to in chapter two. These were primarily written about and by migrants, and offer a deeper understanding of the migration phenomenon.

⁴⁷ Hau'ofa is referring here to the title of a book by Gananath Obeyesekere (1992) called, *The Apotheosis of James Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*.

⁴⁸ Although, as Sahlins (1996:35) noted, some of Hau'ofa's colleagues at the University were quite taken aback by his 'romantic idealism'.

⁴⁹ Thomas (1997) similarly made the point that despite the notion of Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian ethnological categories being 'invented', this is made irrelevant by the fact that they have "acquired substance" through their use by scholars and Pacific Islanders themselves. Thomas also observed that while people may see themselves as Tongan, for example, there are contexts in which they see themselves as 'Polynesian'. He noted that this term is "widely used of and by migrants in New Zealand from Niue, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Samoa, and elsewhere."

⁵⁰ Such as: a preoccupation with remittances, return migration, reasons for migrating, and so on.

⁵¹ A preliminary paper given at the conference, "Linking our histories - Asian and Pacific Women as Migrants to Australia", at the University of Melbourne in October 1994.

⁵² In part I drew this final wording from Helen Morton who, in *Becoming Tongan. An Ethnography of Childhood* (1996:8), cited Schwartz's comments on the neglect of 'children in culture' by anthropology, and of 'culture in children' by developmental psychologists.

⁵³ See, for example, McCall and Connell, (1993:1).

⁵⁴ Under the present system, which came directly out of changes subsequent to 1875, every Tongan male of sixteen years and over is entitled to 81/4 acres of agricultural land, and 2/5 of an acre on which to live within a village or town. However this cannot be completely fulfilled because of land scarcity in Tonga (Morton, 1987:55).

⁵⁵ While Marcus was primarily concerned with elite families who had 'anchored' themselves in Nuku'alofa, my use of the term 'nation' in this chapter also incorporates those described by Marcus (1981:58) as: "other Tongans who have achieved wealth and distinctions abroad, but who have no anchorage in Tonga by which to convert these resources into elite status; they are merely the pride of their undistinguished kinsmen at home."

⁵⁶ As referred to in chapter one, Sahlins (1996:27-28) described *developman* (derived from the neo-Melanesian word, *developman*), as a process "in which the commercial impulses excited by an encroaching capitalism are turned into the provisioning of indigenous notions of the good life. In this event, European goods do not simply make the people more like us, but more like themselves."

⁵⁷ As some Tongans in Canberra have volunteered to me over the years that ancient Tongans have always been known as 'the great voyagers of the Pacific'. Note that during 1997-98 Morton has further explored motifs of Tongan voyaging on the Internet and has developed a paper with the working title "Cyber-Polys: Tongans in Space".

⁵⁸ Noting that due attention cannot be given here to the enormous body of literature on nationalism.

⁵⁹ Note, however, James' (1995:60-61) challenge to 'hierarchical' interpretations of 'eiki and *tu'a* oppositions, in which she offered an alternative 'encompassing' interpretation where 'eiki does not equal *tu'a* in opposition, but "encompasses the possibility of all other values that are *tu'a* to it".

⁶⁰ See also Cowling (1990a:348) who argued that "the transmission of culture in Tonga occurs in the family, the church and in the community through formal and informal didactic processes, through performance and by the witnessing of performances and ritual activities and ceremonies. However, the formal education system in Tonga has also been an important agent for shaping people's understanding of their culture and society."

⁶¹ Cowling (1990a:9, 12) suggested that "in living out their understanding of being Tongan, individuals frequently subordinate the self to the overriding societal concept of how a person should function." However, she also noted that despite strong social control within Tonga, there were strategies enabling some people to evade these controls.

⁶² Lafitani (1992:30) described these prescribed moral principles and behaviours as including: being a "regular church-goer", contributing large sums to the annual *misinale* church fund-raising event, and not questioning the authority of church leaders. He (1992:35) explained the "socio-economic and moral problems" resulting from fund-raising in particular, such as migrants having trouble paying their bills.

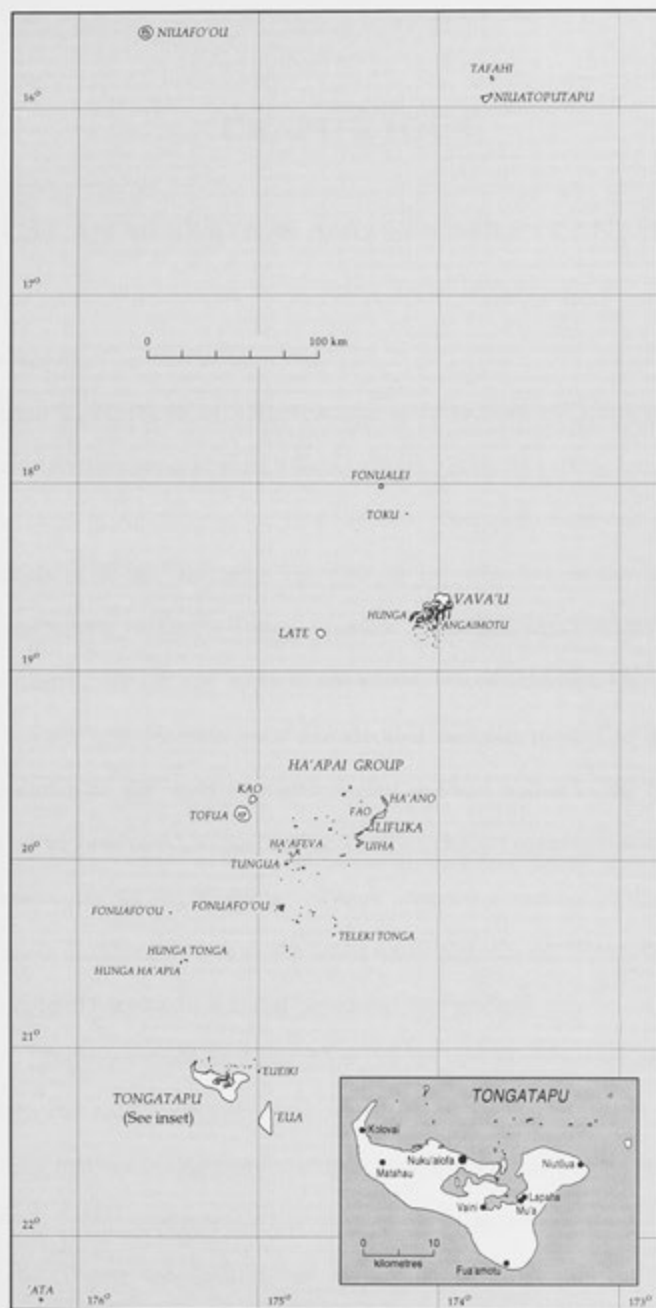
⁶³ See Tongamoa, 1987.

⁶⁴ See James, 1993a.

⁶⁵ Note too that "freedom" and "independence" can also be Tongan concepts (that is, *tau'ataina*). We will see in chapter four that some migrants long for the "freedom" of Tonga and Tongan social relations. While Tongans live as both nuclear and extended families, I interpret the distinction here as one of economic responsibility rather than household composition.

⁶⁶ Morton (1996:259) explained, for example, that the values of *ofa*, respect and obedience, as well as the kinship and gender roles and relationships which are important in the practice of these values, are central to *anga fakatonga*.

⁶⁷ Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983:66) distinguished between the concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity', suggesting that ethnicity is more than ethnic identity, and that ethnic identity "does not exhaust the category of the ethnic, nor does it necessarily occur." They explained: "Ethnicity may be constructed outside the group by the material conditions of the group and its social representation by other groups. However in practice ethnic identity and solidarity may occur either as a pre-requisite for the group or as an effect of its material, political or ideological placement." While acknowledging their distinction, I have employed both concepts throughout the thesis to suggest an ascribed identity in the context of multiculturalism, and Tongans awareness of their ethnic identity in Canberra.



Map: Tongan Islands

Source: Cartography Unit, RSPAS, The Australian National University
(modified by Adrian Finney)

CHAPTER FOUR

TONGAN MIGRATION AND GENDER IN CANBERRA

*Tupou's story*⁶⁸

Tupou is married to an Australian man and has lived in Canberra for a considerable number of years. Having a history of travel to other countries, she came to Australia in her mid-twenties. Originally from one of the islands of Tonga, she grew up alone, living with her mother at her grandparents' house. Tupou worried about her small family and wondered, without any brothers and sisters, who would look after them when her grandparents died? She decided that she needed to get an education so she could look after herself and her mother in the future. "Back in those days", Tupou explained, "if you hadn't completed school by sixteen you did not continue." Tupou attended a number of different schools in different areas so she could finish high school. Eventually she completed her education and achieved excellent grades.

Tupou's mother encouraged her to learn how to make mats because if she did not, people would ask her why her daughter could not do it. Tupou told her mother that she did not have to learn mat-making because one day she would marry a European and have sheets and blankets, not mats. Seeing the opportunities abroad, Tupou eventually moved to Australia after having visited there occasionally. All the time she was conscious of the need to look after her future.

In Canberra, she initially lived with distant relatives and worked as a waitress with other migrant women, including some Polish women. Tupou said she never felt different from Australians and never felt 'left out', unlike other migrant women at the time who criticised Australians, saying that Australians were "not nice". Rather, Tupou asked an Australian woman to help her with her English and to correct her anytime she said something incorrectly. The Australian lady was surprised, as when she tried to help the other migrant women, they did not want it. Tupou readily made Australian friends and socialised with them.

One day she met Peter. Three months later they were engaged, and four months later they were married. His mother was against the marriage as she thought Tupou did not love her son and only wanted permanent residency in Australia. Tupou told Peter that his mother was right - she did not want to leave Australia - but she liked him a lot. Together they decided that marriage was "like a lottery - you win some, you lose some". They are still together today. Peter's mother forgave them, while Tupou's mother told the rest of the family that her daughter had married a European afterall, and she did not have to worry about making mats anymore.

Every migrant has a different story to tell of how they came to settle in their new environment. Tupou's story is neither typical nor unusual. However it provides a useful starting point in considering some of the issues that have received so much attention in the literature on female and Pacific migration. This chapter will focus on the act of migrating to Australia and how this is gendered with respect to the experiences of Tongan men and women in Canberra.

The decision to migrate

The first, and what I consider the most important question is not why people migrate, but their actual decision to migrate. In particular, when did they decide to migrate and who decided that they should migrate? Consideration of these questions can reveal a number of insights sometimes obscured by approaches used in the female migration literatures I earlier discussed. But what is 'migration'? While there are a number of extant meanings of the term 'migration', these are not always made explicit in the conclusions drawn in migration studies.⁶⁹ For international migration I consider that different assumptions of the meaning of the term can obviate our understanding of the process. For instance, very little distinction is made in the literature between permanent and temporary forms of international migration. Here I use 'migration' to mean permanent, international migration (which provides permanent residency in Australia). My references to 'temporary migrants' include students, footballers on sports visas, and other holders of temporary visas. Visitors on visitor visas are, of course, self-explanatory, although it is worth noting that these have the potential to be extended for a number of years. If the difference between permanent and temporary migration is accepted, the decision to migrate refers not to the act of moving, but of remaining in the host country on an intended and actual long-term, permanent basis.

Lafitani described a "herd instinct" in the decisions of Canberra Tongans to migrate (1992:55). In this, Lafitani portrayed migrants as "imitators" whose decisions to migrate were based on hearsay of ideal situations abroad provided by their overseas relatives, as well as on their own perceptions of the increasing numbers of Tongans migrating overseas (1992:56). He wrote:

...for a variety of reasons, twenty-eight migrants did not intend to stay away permanently. They all left on a temporary basis. They just wanted to improve their socio-economic status, send remittances to remaining kin members, and then return....the idea of staying abroad permanently was not conceived of seriously by most of them before leaving (1992:52-3).

In Lafitani's study of 45 Tongan migrants, only 10 were permanent residents of Australia (even though some had been living in Canberra for more than seven years). The remaining 35 were non-residents on temporary visas. Interestingly, of the 35 non-residents, only 7 had aspirations for permanent residency in Australia (Lafitani, 1992:123). It is commendable that Lafitani made the distinction in his thesis and his study has to be understood on this basis. But whether a migrant decides to be temporary or permanent has important implications for our understanding of international migration.

This is not just a matter of conceptual clarity, as the often neglected distinction between permanent and temporary migration is a vital factor to understanding the experiences of Tongan women. Consider Mafi's account below:

I came straight to do nursing...I myself was a school teacher in Tonga - in primary school. My main reason why I came, I came - just - I did not want to do nursing, let's be honest, I wanted to see part of the world, that's the first point. And the second one, to help the family. I thought that's the only way to help them, that's the rest of the family. So I came...stayed in the hospital in the nurses quarters so all my pay...I sent all the money home right through those years. I remember I used to keep five pounds from every fortnight and send the money home to give to my sister - she had so many children so I wanted to educate them - and to my mother in a small island. So it was not only the parents. Sisters as well because of the kids to be educated. So I did that right through before I got married.

Mafi still resides in Canberra with her *pālangi* husband. Her original desires to migrate - to see the world, help the family and educate the children - were fulfilled within her first seven years in Australia. However, unlike Tupou who carefully planned her life and who always intended marrying a European and migrating overseas, none of Mafi's reasons for coming to Australia explain why she eventually decided to marry and remain in Australia permanently. Here we have two women who superficially share similar migratory stories of leaving the islands of Tonga, finding employment in Australia, supporting their families and marrying *pālangis*. Yet how they arrived at their migratory decisions is very different. In particular, one decided to "migrate"

before leaving Tonga, while the other decided to migrate permanently after having already made the move.

Whether one is a permanent or temporary migrant focuses and shapes their migratory experiences. In chapter two we have already discussed Piore's (1979) home oriented approaches to migration and how these might affect, for example, the type of work undertaken by Greek Cypriot women in England. In their case there may be no decision to migrate permanently, even if they spend most of their lives abroad. But for Tongans like Mafi, the decision to migrate does not come until much later after the move. The practice of living in Australia first before deciding to stay is common. Whether this be "irrationality" (Lafitani, 1992:88), or part of a rational plan to seek permanent residency onshore, or simply that they want to sample life in Australia before they decide, it still structures their migratory experiences. For example, consider the case of Ane and her husband. They arrived in Canberra on a temporary visa and then decided to apply for permanent residence. Not knowing whether the ultimate decision-maker, the state, would approve their application, they worked in a number of jobs and saved all of their money for their possible return to Tonga. They thereby displayed a 'home-oriented' approach to their temporary migration. After a few years they were granted permanent residency and, as a result of their saving, had a considerable nest egg which they then used to buy a house in Canberra. For others, as Nero explained:

While Islanders may expect an overseas stay to be temporary, in the long term and as the centre of gravity of a family shifts through further migration, settlement may become permanent (1997:461).

Or consider two other temporary migrants I interviewed who had not yet decided whether they wanted to apply to remain permanently in Australia. They explained their lack of involvement in the Tongan community as deliberate because of their lack of interest and their temporary status in Australia, saying:

...we are not going to that ethnic association or Tongan community or stuff like that...we're just not interested...we learn about you guys' life. It's more comfortable when you stay with your wife and your kids at home. It's comfortable for us after work to come home, talk, have some food. Or we go to (Tongan friend's) house and have a barbeque steak every weekend.

These later arrivals are interesting to compare to those early migrants who, after twenty years, are still renting their houses while actively participating in community fund-raising activities and sending remittances to Tonga.

Accepting that a difference can exist between the decision to migrate and the actual move begs the question of complexity in who actually makes the migratory decision. For both Mafi and Tupou the decision to migrate was theirs. But for others this is not always the case. This is important for those women who may have initially been sent to Australia by a family member, but whose decision to stay may ultimately have been theirs. One woman I interviewed, for example, explained that her brother encouraged her to move to Australia, but that it was her decision to marry an Australian resident and thereby migrate permanently. Of course the line between these two phases of a decision may not be so easy to define. Some people may be pressured to make the 'right' decision, such as another woman I interviewed, whose pregnancy prompted her parents to send her to Australia so that she would make a life for herself rather than marry the child's father. She eventually decided to marry an Australian resident and obtain permanent residency (as encouraged by her parents), while all the time longing to be back in Tonga. In the survey I conducted in Canberra I clarified these elements of the decision to migrate with respondents, as reflected in the following table (from Appendix 1, questions 2.2, 2.3):

Table 1: Migrants' role in the decision to migrate

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
My decision to migrate	2	7	9
Other family** encouraged me, but I decided to migrate	7	-	7
Marriage partner's* decision - I followed	1	5	6
Both my partner and I decided to migrate together	-	4	4
I migrated with my parents with no say in the decision	1	3	4
Non-family** encouraged me in my decision (eg. church)	2	2	4
Sister** encouraged me, but I decided to migrate	1	2	3
Brother** encouraged me, but I decided to migrate	1	1	2
Adult child** encouraged me, but I decided to migrate	-	2	2
Parents* encouraged me, but I decided to migrate	1	1	2
I had no say in the decision for me to migrate alone	-	1	1
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

* In Tonga ** In Australia

As Lafitani (1992:53) found in his study, most of my respondents in Canberra migrated alone rather than as part of a family group. Interestingly, this table reveals that while many women and men were encouraged to move by others, this does not reflect the higher proportion who decided for themselves to migrate permanently. In relation to the extraordinary assumptions I exposed in chapter two underlying 'passive' and 'autonomous' female migration, the often ignored difference between who encouraged a move and who actually decided to migrate on a permanent basis further exposes the limitations of these prescriptive typifications. For some women in the survey, their migration as 'single women looking for work' bore no relevance to the autonomy of their decision to migrate. The existence, or lack of, autonomy cannot be deduced from someone's simple act of moving from one place to another. By extension, the gendering of migration that equates women's presence with permanence is similarly limited.

Migration Pattern

Australia operates two programs for permanent settlement in Australia: the Humanitarian Program for refugee and humanitarian entrants, and the Migration (non-Humanitarian) Program for those entering under the skilled, family or other categories. In terms of overall numbers, for 1997-98 Australia allocated 12,000 places for entrants under the Humanitarian Program, and 68,000 places for entrants under the Migration Program. In 1998-99 the figure is the same. In addition to these programs Australia also operates entry programs for visitors, students and other temporary residents.

In relation to New Zealand citizens, (an important consideration in Tongan migration to Australia) there have been various arrangements in place since the 1920s which have facilitated essentially a free flow of people between the two countries (DIMA, 1997:1). From 1973 the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement enabled citizens of both countries to visit, live and work in each other's countries exempt from the need to apply for authority to enter the countries. However, since the Migration Reform Act of 1 September 1994 a legal requirement came into effect that all non-Australians must hold a visa authorising their entry into and stay in Australia (DIMA, 1997:1).⁷⁰ This meant that a Special Category temporary residence visa (SCV) was introduced for New Zealand citizens which, in effect, made no practical difference to previous procedures for coming to Australia for eligible people. While it is called a temporary visa, there are no conditions attached to the SCV.⁷¹ There is no requirement for an SCV holder to apply for permanent residence in Australia as they can lawfully live, work and study in Australia as long as they remain New Zealand citizens. These people are usually eligible for Australian citizenship after living permanently in Australia for a minimum period of two years (DIMA, 1997:1).

The reason why this is important to Tongan migration is that step-migration through entry as New Zealand citizens has long been recognised as a method of entry to Australia for Pacific Islanders (Connell, 1985:9-10; Geddes, 1987:33; Brissette, 1992:17). As indicated in the tables at Appendix 2, the pattern of Tongan migration to Australia in recent years (as for earlier years) has primarily been characterised by chain migration through the 'family' eligibility categories, and step-migration, at a rate of around 80% and 20% respectively. The gender balance of Tongan migration is also fairly even. These figures support the fact that most immigration from Tonga to Australia is direct, as Tonga does not enjoy the same legal claim to permanent residence in New Zealand that Western Samoans, Cook Islanders and other Polynesians have (Connell, 1985:21, Brown and Walker, 1995:5, 7). This fact has some interesting ramifications for settlement characteristics and linkages with Tonga. As Brown and Walker found in their study of 982 Tongan and Western Samoan households in Sydney, nearly 75% of household heads migrated directly from Tonga, compared to 10% of Western Samoans surveyed whose other 90% had step-migrated from New Zealand. They concluded:

It was found that the Western Samoan community is generally less well-off financially than the Tongans. They tend to have much lower incomes and they own fewer assets both in Australia and in their country of origin, and have larger family sizes. It was suggested that these differences could be attributable to the greater ease with which Western Samoan migrants had been able to enter Australia via New Zealand, thereby effectively by-passing the more stringent immigration criteria applicable to other immigrants (1995:64).

Consistent with the national pattern, most Tongan migrants in Canberra have migrated directly from Tonga. This does not imply, of course, that people have not lived for short periods in other countries before settling in Australia, nor that Canberra was their first city of residence in Australia. The following table provides an indication of Canberra Tongans' migration patterns, which are fairly similar for men and women (from Appendix 1, questions 2.5 and 2.6):

Table 2: Migration pattern of Tongans in Canberra

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Migrated directly from Tonga to Canberra	7	9	16
Migrated to another part of Australia first	3	9	12
Lived in New Zealand first, then Australia	3	5	8
Visited other countries briefly before Australia	3	5	8
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

As for others, I consider that Tongan migration patterns and the visa categories they employ play an important role in defining women (and men) as migrants. With the majority of Tongans entering Australia through the family categories, the emphasis this suggests on invoking relationships with spouses, parents, sisters, brothers, and so on can place some migrants in precarious familial situations. Often they become directly dependent on others for material and social support, at least in the first instance. This was the case for one Canberra woman in particular, who had spent most of her life in Tonga supporting her younger sister through school at the expense of her own education. With her sister now an educated, married, 'successful' permanent resident of Australia, she has migrated to live with her to try and regain her lost years of education. Only now she is much older, unable to speak English fluently, unable to find work, sometimes lonely, and often disturbed by the fact that she has not even met her next-door neighbours. Her former positioning as an older sister supporting her family has now been reversed through migration, where her younger sister is now supporting her as her 'sponsor'.

This example illustrates the role migration and migration patterns can have on the respective relationship of kin, and raises the question of how many other people have experienced such a shift in relative social and economic status, perhaps not as amicable as this example? In more extreme examples which some Sydney Tongans described to me, men and women sometimes arrive as visitors in search of marriage to

Australian permanent residents so they might become permanent residents themselves. Allegedly their long-term intention is to seek a divorce and then sponsor their 'real' Tongan partner to live with them in Australia. I was told of how one man joked with others about his fake relationship with a Tongan permanent resident in Sydney, while she was totally oblivious to the fact that he had another partner in Tonga who would one day join him in Australia. Consider Helu Thaman's insight:

THEY WON'T LEAVE

I am sad just thinking
 About my fellow countrymen
 On the run again
 Packed like sardines
 Into a one-room apartment
 Eating fish heads
 And left-overs from plush hotels
 Where they wash dishes
 In their spare time.
 Second class citizens
 Their relatives are;
 Smoking cheap cigarettes
 Bleeding from drunk-inflicted wounds
 Hiding behind mouldy overcoats
 Ready to marry anybody
 Before their visas expire;
 Get a green card
 Then divorce the wife
 For incompatibility.

(Helu Thaman, 1980:1)

Helu Thaman's poem illustrates the lengths some people go to for permanent residence in Australia (or in this case the United States) and the pressures and ruptures these pose for their families and 'innocent' others. I suggest that this is a significant, yet understudied aspect of Tongan migration. Relationships invoked through migration and how these help to define migrants' experiences, have the potential to become a greater concern for Tongans and others considering recent policy and legislative changes in Australian immigration requirements. On the other hand, those who migrate 'freely' as New Zealand citizens might face a conflict between their

national identities as Tongans, New Zealanders, and Australians – although this can be resolved when their migratory aims are achieved.

What did they expect?

What did Canberra Tongans consider living overseas would be like prior to living in Australia (from Appendix 1, question 2.4)? Some people answered this question by reiterating why they wanted to migrate. Others, like a woman who was forced by her parents to migrate and had no choice in her migration, did not seem to anticipate anything before their departure from Tonga. As she responded: "...inside my heart I already miss my country. I didn't feel anything about overseas". For those involved in the decision to migrate, a trend emerged in their responses where differences in expectations were not based on gender, but rather on the time of their arrival. Consistent with Lafitani's findings, those who migrated earlier (say more than 15 years ago) often associated migration with 'heaven', or a gift from God. As Lafitani (1992:51) described, this early attitude was a recognition that migrants could acquire socio-economic sufficiency abroad. This is supported by my survey, where early migrants described their expectations of: "the good life"; "heaven, honey, sugar and spice...I thought all good things come from *pālangis*"; "like going to heaven"; "a lot of difference from Tonga"; and "I thought it would be heaven". However, as Lafitani (1992:52) found, migration to Tongans has become "secularised" as an everyday event within the realm of possibility. His observation accords with a trend amongst later migrants reflected in my survey, of people having more realistic expectations of life overseas prior to migrating. Their expectations included: "...you need to have money in your hand for everything"; "...better than Tonga in terms of social, economic and political life"; and "It's alright and that's life, so I'll try to go on with living overseas". This trend is understandable when we consider the acceptance of migration in Tongan

culture, and that people are now more aware of life overseas compared to pioneer migrants.⁷² However as one woman explained to me, even today the idea of "hardships being a thing of the past" when one migrates overseas is akin to the notion of going to heaven, despite whatever reality might exist for people after they have moved. She said that it is still an interpretation to which many Tongans can relate.

Initial settlement assistance

TAKA

Taka was a happy-go-lucky guy
Not gay by any stretch of imagination
Had his reasonable share of ladies fair
Yet a serious streak kept coming back
Left Pacific Paradise for the Auckland gold
Stayed with his loving benevolent sponsors
Gave up printing trade, started industrial labouring.

Met his Waterloo in beautiful intelligent Tupou
Both worked to pay the high rent
Purchase of working wheels saved their bacon
His caring sister minded the growing kids
Television and video entertained the weary hours
Lighting matches ablaze was child's innocent amusement.

Swiftly Welfare State came to the rescue
Housing provided rent-to-own accommodation
Three-kid family enjoyed normal life again
Daily living was guided by Mormon principles
Milo, non-alcoholic beverages, no smoking is living
Maintaining law and order stimulates caring democracy
Hard work with stable family fulfills life.

(Tu'inukuafe, 1983:27-28)

Tu'inukuafe's poem shows a wry view of life as a Tongan migrant in New Zealand. In it we can see the challenges, struggles and concerns Taka and Tupou face as they negotiate their lives overseas. The resources they draw upon in (Taka's) migration and their family's settlement, include utilising relatives as sponsors and child-minders; the state as a material support provider; the church as provider of moral principles; and the 'flexibility' of employment opportunities as they find ways

of supporting themselves. While I am not suggesting that this is a typical depiction of life overseas for Tongans, it is very relevant to Canberra.

As also implied in Tu'inukuafe's poem, the few studies that have been undertaken of Tongans in Australia have all suggested the importance of church, family, and to a varying extent, the state, in providing settlement support (see chapter five). At this point, however, it is interesting to observe Cowling's (1990a:303-308) general description of the informal roles of what she called 'custodians', 'brokers', and 'gatekeepers' in maintaining networks of Tongan migration. Custodians are resident in Tonga, while brokers and gatekeepers are located overseas. They may be male or female. Collectively these people can serve to facilitate migratory decisions within families, as well as assist new migrants with aspects of settlement in Australia such as: helping them find, or providing themselves, employment opportunities, accommodation, immigration support, and financial support for fares. Cowling (1990a:308) said that while brokers may sometimes be vulnerable to criticisms of 'getting above themselves', gatekeepers (usually Tongan business people) are more likely to be seen as disinterested helpers in the spirit of *fetokoni'aki* (helping each other). While I found people in Canberra who could easily be described as brokers and gatekeepers within their extended families, this did not seem significant in an ongoing way for the permanent migration of family members, perhaps due to the difficulties of obtaining permanent residency, or that earlier migrants' families had already found overseas residence. Rather, such networks were more often utilised for temporary migrants, including the number of footballers who obtain temporary residence and employment in Canberra on sports visas. Their examples more closely approximate Cowling's description of brokers who sometimes extend beyond providing assistance to their relatives alone. Cowling's observations provide a context to consider the

following survey responses on who permanent migrants considered to be most helpful in their post arrival settlement (see Appendix 1, question 2.7):

Table 3: Who helped you the most when you arrived in Australia?

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Tongan relatives	11	15	26
Church	2	2	4
Spouse	1	2	3
<i>Pālangis</i>	1	2	3
Non-government organisation, eg. sports club	1	2	3
No one in particular	-	3	3
Government agency, eg. AIDAB (now AUSAid)	-	2	2
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

Nearly all respondents indicated that the person who helped them most was the person who initially encouraged them to move, with the exception of those who left Tonga at the encouragement of relatives in Tonga, those who migrated with them, or those who said *pālangis* helped the most.

Contact with Tonga

Geddes (1987:86) suggested that one reason why Tongans in New Zealand maintain such strong links with “home” through remittances and visits is due to their independence from each other overseas, their lack of support networks and resultant less secure base for life, in comparison to Western Samoans whom he claimed have close-knit kin groups and maintain group ties with relatives at home. The maintenance of linkages between Tongans overseas and in Tonga (and elsewhere) still fascinates researchers of the diaspora. As well as the linkages Geddes mentioned, other linkages include those maintained through telephone calls, videos, and photographs, for example. Some excellent research has been undertaken on remittances between Australian and Tongan households and it is not my intention to

duplicate these efforts here.⁷³ Nevertheless, in accordance with Tongamoa's (1987:3) important distinction between family (private) and public remittances⁷⁴, the following responses to my survey are indicative of family remittances from Canberra and of the flow of goods from Tonga (see Appendix 1, question 5.8, and later 5.9, multiple responses):

Table 4: How often do you send remittances to Tonga, and in what form?

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Goods and food once or twice a year	6	15	21
Cash every month, varying amounts	7	9	16
Cash twice a year	4	8	12
Rarely send remittances	4	2	6
Clothing, cash and goods on demand	-	4	4
Other (eg. pay here; collect goods in Tonga)	-	2	2
Clothing, cash & goods on special occasions only	-	1	1
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

A small number of respondents indicated that they send remittances via another family's linkages in Canberra or Sydney. In this arrangement Family A in Canberra gives a sum of cash to the contact in Family B in Canberra or Sydney. The contact then rings or faxes their family's store in Tonga advising them that Family A's relatives in Tonga may have goods from the store up to that value, as their Canberra relatives had already paid. This practice is more common at times of weddings or funerals in Tonga. A number of respondents have been remitting for more than ten or twenty years, although the amount and frequency of remittances has declined as close relatives (such as parents) either died, or moved to Australia to be with them. One woman described her main reason for sending remittances as "Everything we have in Australia they want too".

Care, however, needs to be exercised in seeing remittances solely as "signifiers of love" (Cowling, 1990a:350), as Brown and Connell cautioned against the assumption of

"pure altruism" underlying research on remittances. They explained that some remittances are motivated by migrants' "self interest" and longer term investment interests in the home economy. They argued that this element can offset the possible "remittance decay factor" (1993:624). James similarly noted the "individualism" in remittances to Falahola village in Tonga, in which the notions of altruism, *'ofa* (love) and self-interest are all present (1993a:367-368). The latter, however, accounted for the largest and most regular forms of remittance. Indeed for a significant proportion of Tongan (and Western Samoan) migrants in Brisbane, Brown and Foster found that business investment was a stronger motivation for remitting than altruistic family support (1995:43). However, what I find particularly interesting about remittances is the perception of some early migrants in Canberra that later migrants, as real or perceived beneficiaries of remittances, should defer to them. Consistent with Lafitani's (1992) general finding that earlier migrants expected later migrants to respect them, I found this particularly relevant to remittances. As one woman explained to me, some early migrants in Canberra begrudge the real or perceived successes of later migrants who have benefited from remittances: enabling them to receive an education, migrate to Australia, gain employment, and buy a house, while early migrants are still in-and-out of work and renting.

Gender differences in remitting behaviours have been observed, as noted in chapter two, where women are often perceived by family members to be better remitters. Similar conclusions have been reached about Tongan women by Fuka (1984:39) and James (1991:15) who claimed the notion of the "dutiful daughter", who will benefit the family first in whatever they do, is a factor in their greater and more reliable remittances. In Canberra gender differences in remittance behaviour were not as obvious from my survey. However I was informed that many Canberra Tongans

also consider women to be more reliable remitters. As one man explained to me: "women are better remitters - they have good hearts - better than men".

Much speculation surrounds the remittance behaviour of the next generation of Tongans, backed by the fear that the overall level of remittances will decline with western influences on Tongans abroad and the weakening of their links to Tongan relatives. Some have emphasised the "unpredictability" of second-generation remitters (Fuka, 1984:42). Others like Brown and Walker are more optimistic, claiming that the size of the migrant community is more important (1995:66-67). They believed that as long as the number of new migrants does not fall below the level of returned or deceased first generation migrants, this should offset any decline in second generation remittances which they estimated to be around 30% of first generation migrant remittances. James noted the importance of relatives in Tonga fostering overseas migrants' children as an affirmation of kinship links and a possible influence on second generation remittance behaviours (1991:5). Assertions about the next generation overseas have not been extensively researched as yet due to the recency of Tongan emigration and the still youthful age of 'the second generation'. However, one woman explained to me that some of the young Australian-born Tongans in Canberra have complained about their parents sending large amounts of money to relatives in Tonga while they must do without items they need or desire. Interestingly, these children were said to have suggested an alternative way of "helping Tonga", by wanting to "donate" their Australian-acquired skills and labour to Tonga for a few years, rather than send money to relatives.

Public remittances, such as fund-raising activities, will be discussed in the context of the Canberra community later. However, this analytic separation should not hide the reality for many migrants whereby it is difficult to set remittances and fund-raising pressures apart. At a fund raising event I attended this year I recall one

woman grumbling that she had to attend the event so soon after sending money and goods to New Zealand where one of her relatives had died. But the flow of goods between Tonga and migrants overseas is not one way. Below is an indication of goods sent from Tonga to respondents in Canberra:

Table 5: How often do you receive goods from Tonga, and in what form?

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Tongan food, one to four times a year	9	14	23
I rarely, or do not at all, receive items from Tonga	4	10	14
Mats and <i>ngatu</i> , on special occasions or as needed	4	9	13
Tongan clothing or handicrafts (eg.T-shirts), ad hoc	2	1	3
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

Many respondents said that goods from Tonga were often brought over by visitors. Respondents' attitudes to receiving goods from Tonga varied from those who considered the flow of goods to be important, to one woman who said the items sent to her were "nothing that I really like". Meleane, on the other hand, commented:

Some people ask their family (in Tonga) to send food, but we've got the food here! I don't usually ask them to give me things. We are lucky here, why would I ask for a mat that they worked hard for?

In addition to the flow of remittances, Tongans have frequent contact with relatives in Tonga and elsewhere overseas via the telephone. This often results in telephones being disconnected due to exorbitant bills, or 'bars' placed on the telephone so one can receive calls, but not initiate them. As Meleane joked with me, "All Tongans have problems with Telecom (now Telstra)". Almost all respondents to my survey (see Appendix 1, questions 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6) telephoned their relatives in Tonga on a regular basis. 18% contacted Tonga at least once a week; 48% between once a fortnight to once a month; 11% less than once a month to several times a year; and 9% only on special occasions. As for remittances, the frequency of telephone calls to

Tonga corresponded with the number of close relatives living in Australia - the more close relatives here the lesser the number of telephone calls to Tonga. Women were overwhelmingly the greatest users of the telephone, with 90% of households indicating that mainly the wife/mother of the family contacted Tonga the most. In addition, the person most contacted in Tonga was also female, usually the migrant's mother, sister or aunt. As one woman explained, "I ring every week or else they reverse the charges". Very few respondents said that they write to family members, frequently citing that they were "too lazy" to do so. Those respondents who indicated that they had sent letters since migrating to Australia did so very infrequently.

Most of my respondents in Canberra visit Tonga. Reasons for their visits include attending special occasions (such as birthdays and funerals), visiting relatives, and taking their Australian-born children to Tonga to show them their family history, relatives and cultural origins. The frequency of visits of course largely depends on the presence of close relatives in Tonga, the ability of the family to afford the fare, and the personal desire of migrants to make the trip. 14% of survey respondents indicated that they visit Tonga every two years or more; 41% every five to ten years; 18% once since their migration; and 27% have never returned (Appendix 1, question 5.3). There were no discernible gender differences in the frequency of return visits. Nearly all respondents to my survey had close relatives in other international locations as well as in Tonga. Most were spread around the eastern states of Australia, as well as Hawai'i, other states of the US, and New Zealand (Appendix 1, questions 5.1, 5.2).

Reasons for migrating

So why do Tongans migrate? Why do Tongan women migrate? Are their reasons for migrating different from men's? Considering Lafitani's (1992) earlier comments on the "irrationality" of Tongan migration, can we assume that there

actually is a reason for migrating? Or is it the case that they migrated to another part of the Oceanic expanse simply because they could? So far in this chapter I have focused on gender differences in the migratory experience for Tongans in Canberra. But Moore has claimed that gender relations, and in particular gender conflict, are central to any understanding of why women migrate (as well as why they experience changing social and economic pressures differently from men) (1988:95-96). She described examples of gender conflict as women fleeing unhappy marriages; or women left without land rights through divorce or death of a husband and who are reliant upon fathers or brothers who may not want to support them (echoing Tupou's situation, even though she did not have brothers upon whom to call for help).

But is this a fair account of the reasons why Tongan women migrate? Moreover, is this yet another assumption in the gendered migration literature - in this case, feminist literature - that focuses on the subject positions of women and men without giving due consideration to the processes that effect the gendering of migration? Is conflict a prerequisite to migration? It was certainly not apparent in the responses I received when I asked Tongan men and women their primary reason for migrating to Australia (Appendix 1, question 2.1):

Table 6: Reasons offered for migrating to Australia

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
To further my education, then decided to stay	7	4	11
Marriage, following or finding a partner	-	8	8
I wanted a better place to live	3	4	7
Initially intended to visit, then decided to stay	-	6	6
To be reunited with my family	2	3	5
To improve my family's life and prospects	1	2	3
To seek permanent employment	2	-	2
I followed my family	-	1	1
No real reason	1	-	1
Total Number of Respondents	16	28	44

These reasons (or causes) are broadly consistent with those given in other studies of Pacific Islander migration to Australia: Connell (1985:24,26); Tongamoa (1987:44-45, 83-84); Cowling (1990b:196) who noted other reasons such as upgrading the family, and escaping social oppression; Lafitani (1992:49-50), who also noted the difficulties in fulfilling social obligations as a reason for migrating; Brissette (1992:21-23); Gailey (1992:52-54) who highlighted migration "pushes"; and others, who have generally concluded that the primary motivations for migration include the desire for education, employment, to be re-united with family, and to help the family. Nothing new here. In addition, these reasons also complement Cowling's more nuanced explanation:

...social relations are inevitably altering. Traditional values which are implicit in the word *fetokoni'aki*, which today is interpreted as 'helping and sharing', and which originally involved the sharing of food within the *kāinga*, are being transmuted into beliefs that love and duty are primarily expressed by the giving of cash. Emigration is seen by many as the only way to obtain this money (1990a:319).

However let us return to Tupou's situation. Why did she migrate? In effect, three or more of the above reasons may equally well apply to her as well as other influences implied in her story but not fully articulated. These included: state restrictions on women's access to land in Tonga; state and social restrictions on education through an upper age limit for schooling; and her life circumstances, the most significant being the absence of a brother whom she could call upon for support. In its only edition the editor of the magazine, *Tongan Women: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* explained:

Despite the fact that women in Tonga are generally held in high esteem in comparison to other Pacific cultures, there are still great areas of inequality and unjust treatment of women. A closer look at Tonga's social structure reveals several areas where women are strongly discriminated against. This includes the fact that there are no women nobles in Tonga, even though a women could succeed to the Throne....There are also no women *matāpules* or talking chiefs. There are also no women Government Ministers, although it could only be a matter of time. The most telling prejudice against women is in the land inheritance system of Tonga. The eldest son is traditionally and legally the heir to the father's land, unless there are enough family (lands) which could be divided among younger sons. Sisters in the family do not get land, even if the eldest child is female....Part of the problem with traditional discrimination against women is that it is so accepted even by women themselves that very few question it. (Naufahu, 1994:4)

These 'other' influences affecting an individual's reasons to migrate appear to accord with Moore's (1988) assertion of the importance of gender conflict in reasons for women's migration, but this conflict is not directly between men and women. Using Naufahu's example, gender conflict may result from the processes that align women with unequal access to resources, inheritance rights, and political power as compared to men. Here the conflict is with the state and dominant cultural institutions. However, unlike the constraints on women's migration in Melanesia described by Connell (1984) and Jolly (1987) that *prevent* their migration, I consider that social, gender-based, and legal constraints experienced by women in Tonga can actually *contribute* to their migration. Of course gender conflict and state-based pressures can also be catalysts for the emigration of men, such as when they do not receive an allotment of land; are unemployed; or simply want to escape social obligations of life in Tonga. So we have found that the stated reasons for migration by women may well be similar to men's and consistent with the general condition of living in the Tongan state. However the underlying catalysts for women's migration may be quite different - whether they are conscious of it like Tupou - or not, as Naufahu has suggested.

Intention to return to Tonga

My earlier assertion that the difference between temporary and permanent migration should be observed is important also in the consideration of return migration. As I stated, Lafitani's study indicated that only 7 (15%) of the 45 migrants he interviewed intended to stay in Australia permanently. As one would assume with permanent migrants such as the people I interviewed, the majority of respondents intended to remain in Australia. 48% of respondents indicated that they would like to return to Tonga to live one day because they prefer the lifestyle, or they would like to retire in Tonga, however most were aware that they would not be able to do so due to

their commitments in Australia or financial constraints. As one man said "I will return if I win a lotto." 52% indicated they would not return to live in Tonga, saying "it depends on the future, but Australia is my home now." There were no discernible gender differences in their responses (see Appendix 1, question 2.8).

Apart from this obvious difference in the intentions and experiences of temporary and permanent migrants, there are other differences in how migratory status affects life choices in Australia, such as involvement in community life. This is not to suggest that all permanent migrants form a community in which temporary migrants do not involve themselves. In the next chapter I refer to the importance of (temporary) students in the Canberra Tongan community, which is different to the attitude of the temporary residence couple I mentioned above. But migration status affects culture in migration. Tongan women well-established in Canberra have expressed concern about the inability or lack of desire of their children to speak Tongan, which is exacerbated by growing up in Australia (see chapter five). Their concern is precisely that language is a key factor in the children learning their culture, of being close to other relatives, and of being Tongan. Moreover, a link is evident with Cowling's converse observations of more recent (temporary) migrants in Sydney who were not concerned about children's loss of language and cultural understanding as they believed it would be remedied upon their return to Tonga (1990a:332). In another context Brown and Walker correctly suggested that the difference in permanent and temporary migration could be a significant factor in remittance behaviour (1995:23). Interestingly, however, rather than seeking migrants' actual migration status as a guide, they used migrants' perceptions of their status as an indicator of whether they were permanent or temporary. My point is that differences in migration status and intentions produce different outcomes as Tongans negotiate, accept, or resist aspects of culture in migration.

Perceptions of Australia and Tonga

Most respondents of both gender gave remarkably similar responses to the questions of what they liked and disliked about Australia (see Appendix 1, questions 7.6 and 7.7). The most popular aspects of Australia were its opportunities (for work, money and education), Government assistance (such as social security benefits and study assistance), freedom of lifestyle (including less social pressure and a democratic government), and the Australian people. As one woman responded:

Freedom. Family and extended family are where you want them. Here it's just us and our kids - a little family - without interference from the extended family.

And another:

Australia is a beautiful, rich country. I love the people. I always think Tonga is home, but it's not my home anymore.

Overwhelmingly, many respondents said that there was nothing in particular that they disliked about Australia. There was a number, however, who disliked aspects of 'Australian morality' reflected in crime, drugs, violence, racism, divorce, not knowing one's neighbours, the way people treat each other, and the lack of parental support in bringing up children (with both parents working). Two others disliked the cold Canberra winters; while one respondent disliked:

...people of different cultures in Australia who come over here and stick to their own group. How they have built up barriers. There's a Maltese man who won't talk to me, and a Croatian. Tongans too. The Tongan kids can't speak English properly because the parents speak Tongan in the house. Although Canberra Tongans are pretty good.

In relation to what they missed about Tonga, responses from both men and women were again very similar (Appendix 1, question 7.9). Most commonly they missed family and friends, followed by aspects of their "homeland" (such as the weather, the atmosphere, "smiling faces", security, and beaches). Some respondents missed their "freedom with people" in the sense that they felt more relaxed, or free and easy around people in Tonga than in Australia. A few others indicated that they

missed aspects of Tongan culture, such as "some traditions", food and language. In response to whether they considered Tonga had changed since they left, the answer was overwhelmingly "yes" (Appendix 1, question 7.8). Most described how there were "more cars", "more buildings"; there was "more money", "more visible wealth"; and that Tonga had become "more Westernised" and "more material". A few noted the move to democracy in Tonga as a major change since they left, along with people's increased access to education. Two women said:

It was a lot nicer when I was there. They think it's nicer now because there are more cars, buses and buildings. But for us who return, it's not as nice.

and

My brother said there are many cars in Tonga and more than twenty nightclubs. Ladies are no longer at home but go to the nightclubs - it's not the Tongan way - it's more influenced by overseas.

A few, however, considered that Tonga had changed very little since they left, and this was not necessarily indicative of the recency of their migration. Still a couple of others could not answer the question as they had not returned to Tonga since migrating.

Temporary Residents, Visitors and Students

While my main interest in this thesis is in permanent migrants, the significant affect on them from the flow of Tongans entering Australia (and Canberra) from Tonga and other overseas communities needs to be acknowledged. Appendix 2 provides an indication of the number of entrants under these categories, however due to the small numbers involved some figures have been randomised by source areas for privacy reasons.

Visitors to and from Tonga and other locations play a vital part in maintaining linkages in the diasporic Tongan nation. Sometimes visitors can arrive at short notice and stay with their relatives for indefinite periods of time. This can place incredible

burdens on permanent migrants in the costs of accommodating and supporting them. More often their visits are specific in purpose, such as for a wedding, birthday or funeral. Most visitors come directly from Tonga, and more Tongan men than women aged between 30 to 50 years entered Australia as visitors, suggesting their attraction to potential opportunities for work (although it is unlawful to work while holding a visitor visa), or their willingness to seek permanent migration. As I mention in chapter five, students (mainly tertiary students) play a significant role in Tongan activities overseas, both through their own networks and those of the wider community.

With temporary entry comes the risk of people not departing the country when their visa expires. Tongans have had the dubious honour of frequently featuring in the Australian Department of Immigration's compliance activity figures in recent years. As at July 1994, Tongans ranked eighth in the top ten of total illegal entrant locations by the Department by nationality; seventh in the top ten of total illegal entrants by nationality who were deported by the Department; and eighth in the top ten of illegal entrants by nationality who were found working, or admitted to having worked during their stay in Australia. Most of these entrants were located in New South Wales and, more Tongan males than females were recorded as 'unlawful non citizens'.

I did no primary research on overstayers due to the potential conflict of interest this would have implied for my employment in the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. Nevertheless, some comments on secondary research materials are useful here. Overstayers seem to be met with mixed feelings in the Tongan community. On the one hand there is a need to help them, while on the other the act of doing so places permanent residents in somewhat difficult situations. Lafitani provided some clues as to how significant an issue overstaying can be for Tongans in Canberra through the concept of *tala'ova* (or 'reporting of the overstayers'). This, he found, was one of the 'worst experiences' of the community for half of his respondents

where Tongans of one *kāinga* assert their moral and social superiority to effectively 'dob-in' overstayers (1992:73, 132). These overstayers may be family members of Canberra Tongans from other church groups, and yet the people he interviewed were at a loss to explain why it occurs.

Morally, overstaying can be seen as testing the boundaries. Cowling (1990a) has commented on the 'moral high ground' that Tongans assert in relation to Australian society, which is also evident in their responses to my own survey above. Perhaps this extends to some Tongans' perceptions of the boundaries of immigration. Moral justification for overstaying could be found, for example, in Bishop Finau's earlier lament over the international boundaries between countries:

The christian is forced, therefore, to discover whether or not the barriers of permanent immigration contradict the basic principle of christianity. (Finau in Mullins, 1994:173)

Tongans in Australia

Given the previous discussions of the variance in migration categories and issues of 'who is a Tongan', it is not surprising that the number of Tongans currently living overseas is difficult to quantify. Data recording methods vary by country and within countries in both nature and method of interrogation, and do not always disclose the numbers of Tongans who enter as citizens of other countries. In addition, the number of overstayers is difficult to quantify, as well as the number of Tongans born overseas. Nevertheless, compared to Tonga's population of around 100,000 it has been variously estimated that approximately 30, 50, or 60 per cent more Tongans are living overseas (Ward, 1996:67; Helu, 1988:19; Ewins, 1995:201, respectively), predominantly in the four main receiving countries of New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada. An even greater estimate suggested that there are 25,000 Tongans in New Zealand, 25,000 in the United States, 5,000 in other countries, and 12,000 in Australia

(Finau, 1993:307). See the map on page 124 depicting Tongan international migration flows.

In Australia, Tongans have tended to settle along the eastern seaboard of the country. Of the estimated 12,000 Tongans in Australia, an estimated 7,000 live in Sydney, while other populations are concentrated in Melbourne, Brisbane, Newcastle and Wollongong (Cowling, 1990a:329). Since Cowling's estimation, Faiva (in Dybka, 1992:7) estimated between 8,000 - 10,000 Tongans live in Sydney, while Morton (1998b:8) recently estimated there to be around 2,000 Tongans in Melbourne.

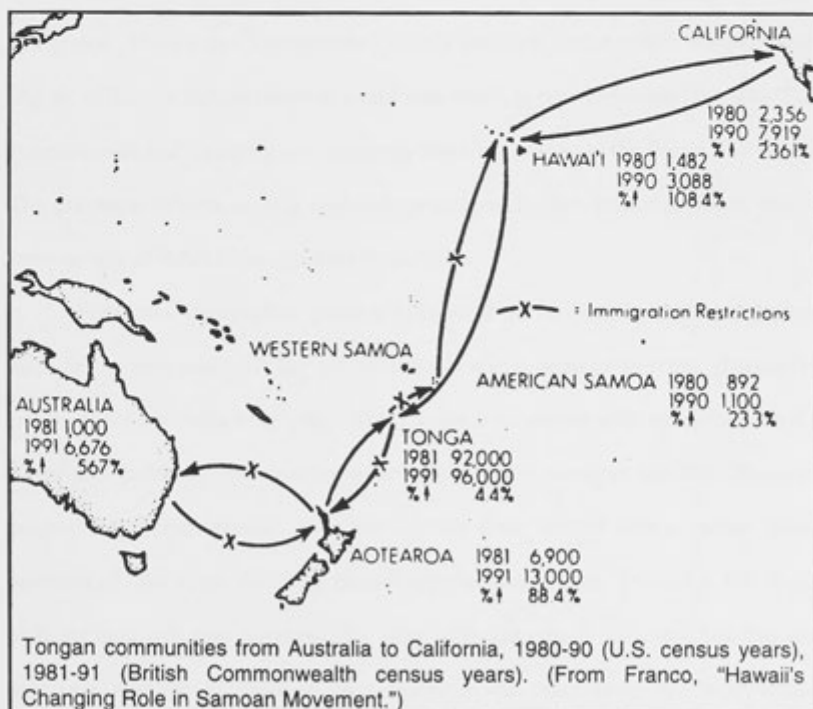
Regardless of the true quantum of the Tongan presence in Australia, immigration from the Pacific Islands has always represented less than 2% of total migration to Australia (Brisette, 1992:16), compared to that of New Zealand at around 14%. Tongan migration only became significant in the mid 1970s following the abolition of the White Australia policy and the downturn in the New Zealand economy in 1973. Australia does not consider the Islands separately from any other region and thus does not have a formal policy favouring or limiting their migration, such as the former New Zealand Guest Worker Schemes. While it has been frequently asserted⁷⁵ that Australia's emphasis on skilled and family migration, along with a preference for permanent settlement, has caused great difficulty for many Tongans (and other Islanders) to meet the strict entry criteria, Australia has withstood earlier pressures to introduce schemes to assist Islanders in their desire to migrate either permanently or temporarily (Connell, 1985:28). Examples of arguments made on behalf of Tongans and other Pacific Islanders include:

It cannot escape Pacific Islanders...that the favoured destinations of their migrants (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA) were themselves populated largely by migrant populations, many from very humble origins. Is it now not churlish of those descendants of migrants to haul up the draw bridge, denying further entry to people like their own ancestors, seeking to make a better life for their families and themselves? (McCall and Connell, 1993:13)

Most Tongans come under the Family Reunion Category - under this category migration is limited to the immediate family and the extended family is not recognised....The extended family is traditionally the backbone of Tongan society. 'Most of the welfare problems faced by Tongans here come from the absence of the extended family'... (Dybka, citing Faiva, 1992:7)

...those who emigrate as adults find it very difficult to obtain entry visas to countries such as Australia for any of their children who are young adults or for children of siblings who are over eighteen years of age whom they may have reared as their own children. The plea that these people are close family is usually resisted by the immigration officials of potential host countries. (Cowling, 1990a:ii)

Debates on immigration invariably arise from such valid points. The concept of 'the family' in particular, and how this relates to definitions prescribed in immigration laws and policies both here and overseas will continue to remain a salient issue for Tongans as well as for people from other countries who also face similar concerns.



Tongan International Migration Flows

Source: Finney, 1994b

Future migration trends

With ongoing changes to Australia's immigration program it is worth noting the possible effects these could have on Tongans seeking to migrate to Australia (as well as others). Immigration restrictions on the family categories (the main categories of entry for Tongans) have been tightened even further over the past couple of years. Current policies aim to continue 're-balancing' Australia's migration program towards skilled entry and away from family entry which had relatively 'exploded' in number a few years earlier. New categories emphasising skilled and business migration have emerged (such as the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme) and a further tightening of the family stream is underway (such as the new aged parent requirements). Apart from a re-balancing of numbers, there is also a continuing re-focusing of migration categories. The former 'concessional' family category under which sisters, brothers, uncles, and more distant relatives could seek entry, is now re-focused into the 'Skilled Australian-linked' category, and currently there is a review of the Points Test for entry. The greater emphasis on skill and criteria such as English language ability might be increasingly difficult for many Tongans to meet.

Other 'non-immigration' policies will also affect Tongans' migratory experiences, such as the two-year wait for entitlements to social security benefits. Formerly the period was six months from entry. This change is consistent with the current view that Australian residents seeking to have their close family members join them through the migration program should 'foot the bill' for their cost of living, rather than the taxpayer, in the event that they cannot support themselves. In reality this suggests that not only will new migrants face more stringent criteria for entry, but that earlier migrants seeking to sponsor their relatives will also find this more difficult, particularly financially. This is likely to exacerbate situations that I described above where the migration category effects a re-positioning of family members with each

other. Indeed one Tongan interlocutor who sponsored their relatives under the new arrangements recently described to me the moral dilemma they were facing in having to support them financially while wishing all the while that they could find employment. Sadly, they concluded their conversation by saying, "If things don't improve soon I wish they would go home."

⁶⁸ Extract from a life history as told to me by Tupou and written in condensed form from field notes, at Tupou's request. The interview was not tape-recorded.

⁶⁹ Winthrop said more recent research interprets migration as primarily a mechanism of adaptation. He stated that just as adaptive functions of migration can vary, so too can types of migration, such as (from Graves and Graves 1974): "foraging" which are temporary forays into neighbouring regions to supplement resources; "circular migration" which establishes relatively permanent ties between two social spheres; and permanent emigration (1991:188). Given these differences the term connotes, I consider that researchers should be more specific in their use of "migration" and "migrants."

⁷⁰ Australian residents who are non-citizens are required to have a Resident Return Visa if they wish to re-enter the country.

⁷¹ The SCV is recorded electronically and is issued automatically when a New Zealand citizen presents their passport for stamping on the date of their arrival in Australia. Eligibility for the SCV is subject to health and character concerns (DIMA, 1997:1).

⁷² While in Tonga, however, I became aware that while people knew about life overseas some still did not understand the cost of living, for example, as evident in the level of remittances they expected from overseas relatives.

⁷³ Some excellent examples include: Tongamoa (1987); James (1991); Brown and Connell (1993); Brown and Foster (1995); and Brown and Walker (1995). Also for New Zealand see Fuka (1985).

⁷⁴ Tongamoa (1987) defined family remittances as cash and goods sent by migrants to their families in Tonga. Public remittances include cash and other resources transferred from migrant groups to community groups, interest groups and institutions in Tonga.

⁷⁵ See for example: Faiva (in Dybka, 1992:7); Cowling (1990a:ii); McCall and Connell, (1993:13).

CHAPTER FIVE

IDENTIFYING THE TONGAN COMMUNITY IN CANBERRA

It is the system that makes one feel whole and gives a sense of well-being and belonging. In other words, it makes a Tongan feel like a Tongan, a very unique and definite identity (Numeitolu, 1993:73).

There are, of course, boundaries to our freedom. We have mutual obligations....Accepting the right to express our own cultural preferences entails the obligation to accept the right of others to do likewise - even when disagreeing with them, provided always that these preferences do not breach the framework of shared values and practices common to all Australians (National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC), 1997:11).

What happens when the transcultural nation of Tongans meets the multicultural state of Australia through migration? The Tongan "system" described above by Numeitolu, a Tongan doctor in Sydney, may be interpreted as a family system, a system of hierarchy, or *anga fakatonga* (the Tongan way). I have also heard Tongans in Canberra refer to a Tongan "system", as typified in his quotation, to describe how things are done or should be done, and as a way of measuring, defining and justifying lived experiences. Yet the setting of Canberra introduces a spatial challenge in locating this system and in terms of Ward's (1996) anastomosing linkages to other communities in the Tongan nation. In the second quotation NMAC describes how the overarching policies of multiculturalism ideally should operate in Australia. As noted in earlier chapters, these policies have dominated Australia's approach and response to migration and settlement in the Australian state for the past twenty years. Multiculturalism incites the creation of ethnic and other representative communities as legitimate mechanisms for configuring migrants' interactions with the state and the

wider Australian population. This chapter considers the effect of multiculturalism and life in Australia on Tongans in Canberra through describing the growth of the Tongan community in Canberra, before problematising the very concept of community, and then considering what this suggests for Canberra Tongans in terms of cultural and ethnic identities. In other words, this chapter will consider aspects of the effect of the Australian state on the Tongan nation in Canberra.

Tongans in Canberra

The following account is based on oral histories relayed to me by various Tongan and non-Tongan men and women, supplemented by newspaper and other articles, statistical data from the Tongan community's census, my own fieldwork, and other academic research. Individual sources have not been cited here to respect their confidentiality.

Settlement from mid-1960s - 1985

The first Tongans in Canberra arrived in the mid-1960s as students completing tertiary studies. Seeing the opportunities that Australia provided, some encouraged their family members to join them in Canberra. Two students in particular, one male and one female, assisted branches of their families to develop in both Canberra and Queanbeyan. During this time, one of the student's unmarried brothers (including cousins) arrived from a village on Tongatapu. Here they pursued training in different trades and established themselves in paid employment. Around the same time but quite separate from these families' arrivals, a few single Tongan women arrived in Canberra from villages on Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, for temporary stays to complete further studies or to visit others. Some stayed, marrying non-Tongan Australian permanent residents both born in Australia or migrants from other

countries, and thereby obtained permanent residency status. The single men who had established themselves eventually married Tongan women who were either already in Australia as students, or who were encouraged to migrate from Tonga as their wives or prospective wives. Most of the men came directly to Canberra from Tonga without living in other countries before their migration. Similarly Australia was the first country of residence outside Tonga for many of the women, apart from Tupou who had spent a short period of time in other Pacific Islands. However, unlike the early male migrants who came directly to Canberra, some women, such as Mafi, had lived in other towns or cities in Australia before moving to Canberra. Belfrage (1995:9) noted that by 1971 there were around four to five Tongan families in the ACT.

Valeti Finau, one of the first Tongan students in Canberra described what Canberra was like for her in the mid-1970s (in Jansen, 1990:90-91). Valeti, who was last recorded as living in New Zealand, spent her university years in Canberra after winning an Australian Commonwealth Scholarship:

Canberra was so clean and tidy. And it was all white faces. Can you imagine going from a village in Tonga straight into Canberra? From one extreme to the other....

There was one other Tongan girl in Canberra on the same scholarship. We boarded together privately for six months, then moved into the student residences. We were the only Pacific Island undergraduates on the whole campus. It was really strange, being the only two brown faces. We stood out....

More and more individuals arrived in Canberra during the mid-1970s, as well as some nuclear families, from different parts of Tonga. Some came for visits or holidays and then stayed, obtaining permanent residency through marriage or family connections. Others were encouraged to migrate from Tonga and were sponsored by family members in Canberra; while others again came primarily for educational purposes and later obtained permanent residency status. More often people had experienced living in other countries or other cities in Australia before settling in Canberra. However most migrated directly from Tonga. This pattern has continued to

the present day with families growing as more and more children were born. In these early days the image of Tongans in Canberra was one of pockets of family groups who operated quite separately from one another and only occasionally interacted informally through church services and activities, through ties by marriage, or other significant life events such as funerals. Belfrage reported for the 1970s that: "Unless family, Tongan people did not generally associate with other Tongans in the ACT as these clusters were not aware of each others' existence" (1995:10). Some Tongans have told me that there was "no Tongan community" during this period in Canberra.

Nevertheless, I have heard conflicting accounts from various sources that there were unsuccessful attempts to form a kind of ethnic association of Tongans in Canberra. One account suggested that there was one unsuccessful attempt in the late 1970s and another in the late 1980s. Another account just referred to one attempt in the late 1980s. Reasons offered for why these attempts were unsuccessful included rivalries between *kāinga* members as to who was more entitled to head the group; mistrust between family affiliations about the operation and purpose of the group; and, simply, that operating the group was too much work. Another source alleged to me:

...there had been a previous association of some sort which had failed on account of financial - you know - people putting their hands in the till and all that sort of thing, and there had been a lot of annoyance about it and so that idea had died off.

During the 1970s and 1980s churches came to play an increasingly significant role in the lives of Canberra Tongans. This was even the case for the early migrants who had no other Tongan contacts in Australia and sought help from *pālāngi* congregations. Sometimes this was successful, as for Meleane who once said to me, "a Christian family will always make you feel at home", after she visited the nearest church because she was homesick. Others were not so fortunate, as Mafi described when she attended a *pālāngi* congregation:

...when I get to Canberra, to be honest, I went to Church - I was in tears. I found the people are different. I was in tears Frances....I thought people were the same everywhere. It's just my ignorance about those things. I found that I was different. It's the first time I need to know 'I'm a Tongan', to have that feeling, 'I'm a Tongan'.

By 1981 three Protestant families decided to form a Tongan congregation where they could worship together as Tongans. Initially using a local building for their services, as more and more families across Canberra and Queanbeyan became involved the group successfully approached the City Uniting Church in Civic with a request to use the church, partly being attracted by its central location in Canberra. On 11 October 1981, the Canberra City Uniting Tongan Congregation was inaugurated. According to Connell, the *Canberra Times* (18 July 1984) noted the inauguration of the Canberra City Uniting Tongan Congregation in July 1981, and estimated that there were around 100 Tongan families in Canberra and Queanbeyan at that time (1985:23).⁷⁶ Connell said that if this figure was correct, it was much higher than the Australian census of the time suggested, which in 1981 recorded only 62 Tongans in the ACT by 'Birthplace and State of Residence (Total Population)'. The Civic church represented the first unification of Tongans in Canberra. Through this initiative more Tongans became involved, including the more isolated migrants such as Mafi, who explained:

I met one person in Civic and that's the only communication I had with the Tongans until the mid-80s I think....I had a cousin come from Tonga to study at university, and he was a very Christian guy....That's how I get to know the Tongan community because I have to pick him up from the Uni. It's his first time out of Tonga so I understand it's a lot for him, so I help him, explain things. So I used to pick him up....and take him to church in Civic and I come home and do my gardening and get time to work on Sundays. And then I go and pick him up, bring him here for food, and then take him home. And next few Sundays I thought 'it's wasting my petrol' so I waited outside. Then next few Sundays I thought 'why sitting outside? I should go inside'. So I went inside and since that, ever since, I get to associate with them and then I realise then 'I'm a Tongan, and I'm meant to be a Tongan'. So I have people in my own culture and we have interests and all....And that's the communication that I have through the church, *lotu*, *ē*? And from there onwards I get to the rest of the Tongans mainly through prayer groups and to be very close with. Only with a few that I am very close you know, to come here and go there, because I'm still too busy with my own things. The only time I see my church friends...mainly through prayer group or sharing. Anyone who needs help in any way, I will be there.

Another Tongan woman explained to me that at the time, "We started the Tongan congregation because the Tongans don't speak English and don't go to church".

During the 1980s other Tongans still attended services at their local Protestant or Catholic congregations across Canberra, as individuals or as part of their family networks. For some time leading up to the late 1980s there were five key Tongan congregations in Canberra. One Tongan minister not aligned to any of these groups attempted to bring them together through conducting a regular monthly service at the City Uniting Church. Each congregation shared turns in leading the service. This joint Tongan service worked successfully for twelve months until the instituting Minister left Canberra temporarily, after which it fell apart through tensions and rivalry which had apparently re-surfaced between around four or so *kāinga* groups.

I have not been told of rivalries amongst congregations of Tongan Catholics during this time, perhaps because they were fewer in number, or because they were already involved in the Protestant networks through marriage or family connections. Another reason was that some drifted out of the *pālāngi*-dominated congregations and ceased church attendance altogether. As one Tongan woman reflected:

There is a tendency, the ones who came earlier, because they have not really been recognised as different people in the parish, they slowly move out and no longer attend which is to us very un-Tongan. So when I think back of what is happening in the Islands why is it they are not participating or coming to Mass anymore? We think perhaps they are not recognised as people...sure Tongans are not talkers; they are not philosophers; they communicate differently; they like to sing; they just like to be happy and in parishes there is always this seriousness; life is so serious and because of that they don't feel comfortable; they don't feel they belong... (Transcribed from tape, Diocesan Pastoral Council, 1993:49)

1986-1992

From the Australian Census of 1986, Lafitani (1992:44) found that there were now 115 Tongans (Tongan-born) living in Canberra of a national total of 4,474. In 1991 the Tongan minister who temporarily left Canberra returned, however he did not revitalise the monthly joint service but encouraged the participants to do so by choice.



The City Uniting Church in Civic

During the period 1991-92 Siosuia Lafitani, a Tongan migrant to Canberra, undertook a significant study of the 'perceptions, behaviour and values' of Tongan migrants in Canberra. After estimating the Tongan population at the time to be 200 (including children, temporary residents and overstayers), he based his research on both his personal experience as a migrant and surveys conducted with 45 mostly temporary migrants. His respondents had lived in Canberra for at least 3 years, were both male and female, and represented 20 households (Lafitani, 1992:46). 41 of the respondents were commoners (*tu'a*) and 4 were from chiefly (*hou'eiki*) lineages. At the time, Lafitani's respondents (1992:132) claimed that their 'best experiences' of the Tongan community were its generosity and friendliness. Their 'worst experiences' included the reporting of overstayers (*tala'ova*), the disintegration of churches (*movelevete e 'u siasi*), and the assertion of chiefly status (*lau'eiki*). 30 of the 45 respondents said they felt lonely if they did not meet with other Tongans for more than

a month. 10 of the remaining 15 said they did not wish to socialise with other Tongans because of "too much assertion of one's birthplace" (*laukolo tupu'anga*) and *lau'eiki* (Lafitani, 1992:68-69). As I mentioned in chapter one, Lafitani himself experienced *laukolo tupu'anga* in his research when potential respondents passed judgement on him based on his village of origin. In his thesis he explained that it was usually those people born and raised in the Tongan capital of Nuku'alofa who considered people from villages or outer islands to be poor and of lower status (Lafitani, 1992:69).

Consistent with the Tongan/*pālāngi* opposition I described in chapter one, all of Lafitani's (1992:78) respondents agreed that Australian values and behaviours contradicted those of Tongan culture. They said the main problems with Australian values were "individualism", "independence", and "no respect between brothers and sisters". In contrast, they considered that the Tongan values of obedience (*talangofua*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*), and generosity (*loto foaki*), were preserved through the family and churches. Interestingly, Lafitani noted that 28 of the 45 respondents concluded their conversations by:

...proposing that it was time for Tongans in Canberra to establish a cultural committee to organise activities which will help preserve Tongan culture (values, behaviour, dance, music and language) (1992:87).

1993 – 1997

One of my first experiences amongst the Tongans in Canberra was in November 1993. In search of Tongans to meet and interview, I arranged to meet the 'relative of a Tongan friend-of-a-friend of mine' from Sydney, at a Tongan funeral being held in Canberra that Friday evening. Having never experienced a Tongan funeral before, I arrived at 6.30pm and waited for my unidentified Sydney contact to appear. With no sign of them, I decided at midnight to go home. I was later told that Tongan funerals can continue for days, particularly if the deceased was a significant person in the community, as was this person, a Tongan minister. Having very little idea of what

was happening at the time, and feeling a little strange at attending the funeral of someone I had never met, I was nevertheless fascinated to see the church fill with hundreds of Tongans, who drifted in and out of the funeral service. Outside there were scores of cars and a number of buses from inter-state. It made me realise the significance of inter-city linkages between Tongans in Australia and appreciate the power of *kāinga* and church connections amongst Tongans, to more than double the resident Tongan population of Canberra with one significant event such as this. Indeed, as I later realised, life events such as funerals are where many diasporic Tongans re-discover, or discover for the first time, their *kāinga* connections. In a later interview I conducted, a Tongan couple said that if a Tongan died in Canberra years ago the few Tongans there were would attend a *pālangi*-style funeral service and then simply "have a cup of tea at the house afterwards". It was only when more and more people arrived from Tonga over the years that they felt obliged to offer mats and *ngatu*, and to begin conducting funerals in the Tongan way (see Cowling, 1990a).

Towards the end of 1993 three significant events occurred in Canberra that were to fundamentally change the character of the Tongan community. The first was in September 1993, when a Catholic magazine reported how the Tongan Catholics attended a mass celebrated by the late Bishop Finau, Bishop of Tonga. It highlighted the "beautiful singing of the 100 or so Tongan people living in Canberra and Queanbeyan and their friends". A feast followed the mass that was prepared by Tongans in his honour, to which the congregation was invited to share. Tragically, only one week after this event, Bishop Finau died of a heart attack. The second significant event then occurred: a requiem mass held in his honour in Canberra two weeks later, after which a Catholic Tongan woman was reported as saying:

We found this a very, very historical event for us, an event that brought us together and consolidated us as a community (Catholic Voice, November 1993).

A *pālangi* Catholic church official whom I interviewed a month after these events explained that unlike the Vietnamese, for example, the Catholic Tongans had no dominant parish in Canberra or sense of community. Rather, they had a tendency to "slip into the parish community" and "had scattered themselves around the community". However, he explained that the church invited the Catholic Tongans to participate in ecumenical worship at the first service for the Bishop, with Tongans from the City Uniting Church and some from Sydney. He said, "this was the beginning of building a bond of the Tongan community". With the Bishop's death a "great uniting" amongst Tongans occurred, through prayer and singing.

After these events the (Catholic) Tongans formed a group consisting of a catechist, a choirmaster, an organiser, and a liaison officer to maintain contact with parishes. They made a major contribution to the Catholic church through their 'Music Ministry', celebrated in one parish on every second Sunday of every second month and elsewhere in other parishes on request. The development of the choir led to a return to church for some Catholic Tongans (Kaucz, 1994:3).

With their new-found profile, in October 1993 the Catholic church invited the Tongans to participate in the Diocesan Pastoral Council's 'Church Family of Families Cultural Communities' conference, and one Tongan woman joined the community discussion panel to which I will refer later. After the conference a Council secretariat member reflected that the Tongans "are delighted with the way they have grown as a community" and that "the meeting provided a springboard that helped them to see their identity as part of the church in Australia". However, she also noted that while they saw themselves as part of a community they still preferred to participate in the parishes near where they lived (Kaucz, 1994:3). This was in contrast to the united Protestant congregation.

The third significant event that occurred in 1993 was the formation of the current Tongan Association of Canberra and Queanbeyan, which was registered with the ACT Government in March 1994. Being aware of the tensions and rivalries between family groups in Canberra, as well as of previous unsuccessful or short-lived efforts to create formal associations for Tongans in Canberra and other cities, its founding member and president instituted measures to protect the Association while carefully guarding against potential factionalism. Support from a representative cross-section of Tongans in Canberra, backed by a Constitution (see Appendix 3) with financial checks and balances ensured that the new Association would not fall victim to earlier problems. The Association's office bearers were elected from members by members at the first General Meeting, and included both men and women. In addition, the original President was a respected person amongst many Tongans and others, being a church minister, an early migrant to Canberra, a renowned university historian, and son of a *matapule*. The objectives of the Association are contained in its Constitution.

However not all Tongans supported the Association. I was told of a group of people who:

...stayed out of it and were antagonistic, and did their best actually to undermine it as much as they could....One of them (mentions name)...is one of the key people there and I think it was because she herself had either an organisation, or had been prominent in an organisation some years ago and was very resentful, and is still resentful. And she still gives speeches - you know, at which she attacks...all the Association....she managed to influence quite a lot of people to stay out of it...

Indeed one woman explained to me that, in her opinion, the Association has lacked relevance for longer-term Tongan residents in Canberra as it favoured new arrivals. She said that longer-term residents also have problems and it should be helping them instead.⁷⁷ Again there is a consistency here with an observation by Lafitani's interlocutor who said, "earliest migrants to Canberra should be respected by the latest

migrants" (1992:73). At the same time, however, my interlocutor considered the role of the church to be more important to Tongans than the Association.

Apart from these more open forms of resistance, I was told how originally it took time for other Tongans to see the relevance of the Association. Originally some did not want to pay their \$5 membership to be part of it, despite their willingness to donate large amounts to other Tongan fund-raising efforts. As one Tongan woman mused:

They think you come there to give your money for nothing. But look! Some come for a concert and we go and drop them \$1,000 there. But when the Association try to bring a \$5 to register - they don't want it, you know, they think it's a big thing. 'Why do you want the \$5?', you know? 'Because they want to use the \$5'. But that's the \$5 we ask to register because to show the Government to start with. 'No, no don't give your \$5'. But some group comes from Tonga and asks, and 'Oh!' - then we go and throw the money at them, and suddenly (there's) \$10,000. And they take it and then we stay with nothing!

In these early days the Association met every month, with additional meetings as needed. Sometimes at these meetings only three or four people would participate. I was once told that others had deliberately arranged for a prayer group to be held the same time as an Association meeting to subvert its influence. Persistence, understanding and patience of the President as well as faithful ongoing support of a few Tongans (both men and women) ensured that it continued. The Association grew and lodged an (unsuccessful) application for government funding to purchase a photocopier, computer and printer to produce a regular Tongan newsletter.⁷⁸ Two Tongan migrant welfare workers also worked for a few hours a week to assist Tongan migrants with information and settlement problems. In addition, the Association arranged the production of the Tongan radio program every Monday afternoon on a local community radio station.

Paralleling the significant ecumenical services and subsequent uniting of Tongan Catholics, and the formation of the Association, there was another influence that helped to unite some of the Tongans. As one woman explained to me in 1994, concern for children played an important role in bringing the adults together as a community. Initially this was in response to growing concern about the development of Tongan youth gangs in the Belconnen area of Canberra. Some Tongan parents gathered together to discuss what to do about the problem, resulting in a number of young Tongans being sent home to Tonga for a few years⁷⁹.

Those who live here in Canberra may remember about two years ago there were Tongan gangs causing a lot of problems of which we Tongans are ashamed....we formed this Tongan Association, and one of our concerns is our youth. We want them to be Australian; they don't quite fit in; there is something wrong somewhere. We want them to be Tongans but our influence is not strong enough. Where are we? What is the future of our children here? We have also found that towards the end (of) year 11 and 12 there is a tendency and a trend that people send their children back home. There is a value clash - we don't have an answer. (Transcribed from tape, Diocesan Pastoral Council, 1993:51)

By May 1995 I was informed that around 20 children in Canberra between the ages of 9 and 18 years had been sent back to Tonga for a period of time "to face their reality of being a Tongan".⁸⁰

However, it was not just a specific concern for youth gangs that brought adults together across family and church groupings. Adults were generally concerned for their children's inability to speak Tongan, to understand Tongan culture, and to communicate with their relatives overseas. They were also concerned about their children's ongoing education and future job prospects. In mid-1994 I recall a woman's exasperation of having brought her children to Australia to give them an opportunity to study she could not understand why they were not interested in school, particularly when children in Tonga were extremely studious and competitive by comparison. She and others involved in the City Uniting Church participated in a Sunday service in September 1994 for the Canberra Association of Tongan Students (CATS), in which the

importance of education was emphasised. I observed the Minister at the time explaining that he was giving the service in English so the children could understand his message.

While there were processes and events uniting the Tongans as a community across church and family groupings, the continual process of church disintegration in Canberra originally described by Lafitani in 1992 has persisted over the past few years, primarily amongst Protestant congregations. Reasons given to me for why people form break-away congregations or churches vary, and disclose issues of deeper significance. One observer of this practice offered that amongst Tongans overseas:

Each one of them is trying to prove their own leadership or status...and they will be supported by close relatives, and then someone else over here again...is trying to be somebody important and against relatives, and so this is expressed through the churches, through these congregations. So in a sense the existence of so many little scattered congregations had a certain positive function for these people because often in their ordinary lives they were in very menial occupations and...could be looked down upon by ordinary people. But in the church context they might be stewards or have some leadership role, so it was a way of kind of boosting their status - their egos.

However another woman who formed part of a breakaway congregation told me she had done so "for spiritual reasons", perceiving the City Uniting Church as "a social gathering". Mafi also emphasised the spiritual and cultural significance of her church:

I joined them, then I found that being amongst them...I like to be with them, you know? To share and take personal life with God. I found...I'm growing in that way and being with them. And that's how we - it was a prayer group to start with and then became a church...I was free to be in any church.

Why it break away from the Methodist?...Mainly because of the traditional way of doing *lotu*. It's become, how do you say it, very traditional in Tongan way instead of being Christ way and that's why, this man, he emphasise your personal life with God....It was more the personal relationship with God....I found what I am looking for, not to go and sit and listen or something like that, but to come and do it....Try to be pure in your heart, that's the key. That's what God wants. Not to make a big feast for him. You see in Tonga feasts have become as a part of *lotu*. God does not want that! He wants your heart and then what you give, you give in His name to the needy, people who need, not to the high and the Royal, the Royal people. I think that's the difference in the (*names church*) and of course it depends on the individual on how they interpret it and how they keep it up in their own personal life.

By 1995 I found that Tongans attended six different denominations in Canberra: the Uniting Church, Catholic, *Maama Fo'ou* (now *Tokaikolo*), Tonga Parish, *Konisitutone* (Constitution Church), and Mormon churches.

While the City Uniting Church congregation had been representing Tongans through their choir and fundraising activities,⁸¹ the newly united Catholic Tongans had also begun to represent the Tongan community at wider Catholic events. An example was the '*Family Day for the Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn to celebrate the Beatification of Blessed Mary of the Cross MacKillop*', held at a showground on 26 February 1995. This particular event was attended by around 30 to 40 Catholic Tongans. Following the general religious service and picnic, backed by their own band the Catholic Tongans danced as part of a display of parishioners' 'multicultural dancing', along with other Catholic ethnic communities. The dances they selected represented a general 'Island' theme and included those from Tonga, the Cook Islands and Hawai'i. The dance group's costumes in the following pictures were only one of four worn on the day. Despite their promotion of an Island theme, however, I recall overhearing one *pālāngi* woman in the crowd saying to another, "Which group is this? The Fijians?" To which one of the Tongan women on the stage angrily retorted, "Not Fijian, Tongan!" in a tone not to be challenged.



Catholic Tongan dance group in February 1995



Catholic Tongans, February 1995

On 25 March 1995 I attended the first anniversary celebration of the Tongan Association held by the lake in Canberra. Tongan dancing and singing followed a picnic lunch and volleyball. Approximately 60 people attended the event, including people from the Uniting, *Tokaikolo*, Catholic and Tonga Parish churches. Monies raised at this event through *fakapale* were used to support the Tongan language school in Canberra.⁸² The language school had been formed one month earlier in February and, during 1995, there were two classes run by two teachers on Saturday afternoons. One class consisted of approximately forty primary school age students, while the other was held for around twenty students of high school age. Through the Association a dancing school was also formed for young Tongans. We showed Adrian's photographs of the earlier Catholic carnival. A couple of non-Catholic women showed surprising levels of interest in the dancing and costumes worn in these photographs, asking who made them? And when was this event?



First Anniversary of the Tongan Association, March 1995

Then in June 1995 tragedy struck the community in Canberra. The Association's President passed away, only a few months after its first anniversary. The loss of such a well-respected person who had done so much to bring the Tongans together was felt across Canberra and beyond. Prayer sessions were held for a week in relatives' houses leading up to the funeral. While such a significant figure could never be replaced in the lives of people close to him, nor in the Association that he had successfully brought to life, the solid foundation he created for the Association remained through the efforts of other members who had supported it all along. At the next Annual General Meeting a new President, (the former Treasurer), was elected. He continued to operate the Association along the same lines as before. Yet even today the original President's views and ideals, such as those on the need for accountability and culturally appropriate guidance for children, are referred to in Association meetings as if he was still a guiding light for the community.

Under the auspices of the Association, Tongans became increasingly involved in state-endorsed multicultural activities by representing 'the Tongan community' to the wider population of Canberra. In October 1995, for example, a small group of Tongans attended the ACT Ethnic Schools Association Day in Canberra. Here each 'ethnic group' of children was given around ten minutes to perform dances they had learnt at weekend school. Each group also had a display table of educational books and items of cultural significance. Some Tongan university students, parents and others offered their support to mark this event for the Tongan children. However, through events such as this and the ACT's annual Multicultural Festival, Tongans were becoming both known and increasingly visible to Canberrans as an 'emerging community'.



Photographs of the children's dance and Tongan display table in October 1995

By December 1995 two other prominent figures entered the Tongan community of Canberra. They were the King of Tonga's youngest son, Prince 'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata, and his wife, Princess Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho, who lived in Canberra for two years from December 1995 to January 1998 while His Royal Highness completed postgraduate studies and graduated from one of Canberra's tertiary institutions. The Prince and Princess had a significant impact on the Tongan community of Canberra. The Prince became the Patron of the Tongan Association (see the updated Constitution at Appendix 4), while the Princess created and became President of the *Loto Taha* Tongan Women's Association that was inaugurated on 21 June 1996 (*Loto Taha* means "of one heart"). The couple was actively involved in the City Uniting Church congregation and Tongan social activities, while *Liukava*, their residence in Canberra, became the focus of community attention.⁴³

As discussed below, their presence began to influence Tongan culture in Canberra. However, perhaps their most noteworthy influence was in providing a social ordering amongst Tongans by being at the pinnacle of Tongan social hierarchy. Like some others in the community (including Lafitani), apart from some ad hoc altercations, I did not observe any overt rivalry amongst families vying for *hou'eiki* status, as described by Lafitani in 1992. People I raised this with assumed that it had largely subsided for the duration of the Prince and Princess's residence in Canberra. As one person explained to me:

Because you have the system of stratification, people...accept their place in the hierarchy. So once there is a noble person or a chiefly person they...do not go into intensive rivalry or competition. But once they get out of Tonga and there isn't that situation...then you get intensive rivalry and competition between different Tongans.

But

...with the Princess here, she's helping to keep the lid on these tensions.

Perhaps as a result of royal presence in the community, one Tongan couple explained to me in 1997 that any upgrading to *hou'eiki* connections was largely ignored or found to be amusing. They explained together, for example, that of the three or four families who claim to be *hou'eiki*, it is:

...probably mostly the women. They make a big fuss about the *hou'eiki*, especially when the *hou'eiki* funeral back home in Tonga. They...wear black to show that they are part of the *hou'eiki* but they are all common people - they knew this funeral and they found out this *hou'eiki* guy in Tonga (died). Some are a bit funny because you find out their own uncle in Tonga died - they don't wear black! But someone who is *hou'eiki* will get this...when some of the *hou'eiki* do not care about it - in Tonga - they don't worry about whether they are part of the *hou'eiki* or not, but some people, they're really proud if they are.

The presence of the Prince and Princess in Canberra also gave cause to visits from other members of the Royal Family. The first of two notable visits was by Her Majesty Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho in August 1997. This was marked by an afternoon tea at the Hyatt Hotel held in her honour, arranged by the *Loto Taha* Tongan Women's Association. Secondly, there was a week-long visit of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV and Queen Mata'aho with numerous other members of the Royal Family, including the Princess Royal, to celebrate the graduation of His Royal Highness in December 1997. This was marked on the first evening by dancing at *Liukava* performed by Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne Tongans from the village of Kolovai (one of the Prince's titles); and on the second evening by dances performed by Canberra Tongans. On the third day a luncheon was held at Rydges Hotel in Canberra arranged by the Tongan Association. These activities involved months of intense preparation for many of the Tongans of Canberra, including costume-making, dancing practice, and event organisation.

From all accounts the Canberra Tongans were exhausted after the significant events at the close of 1997. Their participation in the National Multicultural Festival in February 1998 was low-key compared to festivals of earlier years, when they prepared food at their stall and danced for the general public. This year they performed four

dances and went home, saying to me that they were still tired after the extensive preparations for the Royal visit, which was far more important. They were also tired after receiving a spate of fund-raising guests from Tonga whom they billeted, fed, and supported with money, before seeing them off on their long journey around other Tongan communities in Australia.



Queen Mata'aho at the Hyatt Hotel, August 1997



Canberra Tongans dancing for the King at *Liukava*, December 1997



Graduation Luncheon for the Royal Family at Rydges Hotel, December 1997

The Tongans today

The Tongan Association has grown in number and now consists of 17 committee members and around 30 registered members. While there are still elements of open resistance to the Association, and some apathy, the activities it arranges are still supported by the majority of Tongans. As one Association member explained:

We are happy....Now there's a lot of family come to the Association. There's some who still don't want to. But I think they just say it, but they want themselves to come you know? Tongan is like that.

I think the difference between then and now is that the people now start coming. That time the President work hard and people sit back and 'no way we are going to join that one'!....But now they are starting to understand and see the thing that he was telling them.

...that's what (the former President) wanted to start - the Tongan Association - this is the time because he work hard to make it and you know how the people hate it, but now people see what the thing he wanted it to be. So, if the King come here and no Association, you can't get up and do something. If the church do it then the other church hate it because they don't want that church to do it and not them, you know, a group of churches, this one and not the other. But...the Tongan Association, doesn't matter only ten people but everyone come because the Tongan Association do to the Tongan; to the people from Tonga.

The Association still organises a weekly radio program, a newsletter and an annual fundraising activity, while the language and dance schools have also continued and have benefited from modest government grant assistance. Other community groups which operate outside of, but report to the Association include: the *Loto Taha* Women's Association, the sports committee, the Canberra Association of Tongan Students (CATS), the kava club, the radio committee, and liaison committee. Such voluntary groups are also prevalent amongst Tongans in Sydney, as Tongamoa earlier documented (1987:129-130). In addition, a group of ex-'Atenisi Institute students operates another weekly community radio program. While they have drafted a constitution to one day create their own formal association, they recently became an associated member of the Tongan Association with a representative now attending meetings. Through the activities of this extended network of groups, the Association is always prevalent in the community. In a more formal sense, it serves as an umbrella

for the community, the main representative body on behalf of Tongans, and a contact point for government agencies, service providers, and overseas groups.

Yet beneath this exterior, formal face of the community are the interminable and binding informal networks running across Tongan families in Canberra. These are manifested on the irregular, but frequent occasions that bring people together: perfume parties, visits from Tongans interstate or overseas, funerals, weddings, birthdays, christenings, band rehearsals, *faikava* (kava drinking occasions), *katis* (discussed later), costume-making sessions, child-minding, ex-school and village based gatherings, choir practice, barbeques, bible studies, children's football matches, sharing an 'umu, cups of tea, gossip, and drinks at the local South Pacific Rugby Club. These interactions and networks are the heartbeat of the Tongan community in Canberra. After many years the networks have remained remarkably closed to interactions with those outside the community, particularly for earlier migrants.

The earlier unification of Catholics through the Music Ministry and other activities has now weakened due to the hard work involved in bringing people together across dispersed congregations. The City Uniting Church, however, is still a prominent contact and focal point for community activities. As for other congregations, linkages with Tongans in other cities are facilitated through churches (an example being the *ngatu*-making event described in the next chapter). Tongan services are held at 2.00pm every Sunday except for the first Sunday of the month when a joint service is held in the morning with the *pālangi* congregation. Occasionally an afternoon tea follows the Church service where community announcements are made, and where men and women make impromptu and often highly emotive speeches about a range of personal and community issues of concern. Every Wednesday or Thursday evening the women of the congregation hold a prayer group meeting, sometimes involving women of the other congregations. At the last

quarterly church meeting, the Uniting Church Tongans decided to hold their future annual *misinale* collection to coincide with the birthday of the Church (11 October) on every second Sunday of October. Many Queanbeyan Tongans attend their local church services. The six main denominations are still supported by Canberra Tongans.

Population

The current population of Tongans in Canberra depends upon which source you consult and the scope of your definition. The Australian Census of Population and Housing in 1996 recorded for Canberra 160 Tongans by 'country of birth, Tonga', and 210 Tongans by 'language spoken, Tongan'. However if we consider the population of possible participants in the Tongan community, this would need to include Tongans born in Australia, children of Tongan and non-Tongan parentage, half-Tongan⁸⁴ adults, and non-Tongan spouses. Using these criteria, a census of the Canberra-Queanbeyan Tongan community conducted by Tongans indicated a total number of 441 people who could potentially be considered part of the community, as at 12 January 1998.⁸⁵ This is not to say that all would identify themselves as being part of the community. Nor does this figure include those temporary residents, students and visitors who actively participate in the community during their period of stay. A further complication is the inability to account for those Tongans linked to Canberra through their *kāinga* and who participate in Canberra activities, even though they normally reside elsewhere in Australia.

Of the 441 people in the census, 243 (55%) are either Tongan or half-Tongan adults, with a further 142 (32%) being children up to the age of 18 still living at home. 56 (13%) are non-Tongan marriage partners (including those separated). I estimate that only 131 (30%) of the 'Tongan community' today are permanent migrants who

migrated as late teenagers or adults. Others migrated as young children, or are not Tongan, or are young Tongans and half-Tongans born in Australia.

Household size and location

The Tongan census indicates that there are 99 households in the 'potential' Tongan community.⁸⁶ Of these, 87 are migrant households while others are occupied by adult children born in Australia, or by separated non-Tongan partners and their children. The population is spread across the main regions of Canberra according to the map below: 206 (47%) live in Belconnen (including Gungahlin); 77 (18%) live in Tuggeranong; 66 (15%) live in Queanbeyan; 46 (10%) live in Woden; and 46 (10%) live in the City.



Map of Canberra and Queanbeyan town centres

Source: ACT Mapping Office, ACT Government (1997:44)

The average household size is 4.45 people, which may also include members of extended families. 94% are nuclear family households. The largest household size is 8 people and the smallest is 1 person. Again, these figures do not include the numbers of temporary residents and visitors who often reside with permanent residents for sometimes long periods of time. They do, however, compare with Connell and McCall's (1989:16) survey of Pacific Islanders in Blacktown, Sydney, which recorded an average household size of 4.8 persons.⁸⁷ This limited sample suggests that the average Tongan household size in Australia is comparatively smaller than that of Tongan households in California, which average between 5 and 6 persons (Small, 1997:66).

The Assumption of Community

Many individuals now appear to opt willingly into, rather than out of, Tongan migrant community life, because of the benefits obtained from solidarity.
(Cowling, 1990a:335)

'Community' is a term ever so freely used when referring to overseas migrant populations. However, soon after commencing my research I found the term to be problematic, not only in its 'emerging' existence for Tongans being assumed by the state and wider population, but being assumed as 'encompassing'.⁸⁸ At the same time, I also found the term critical to any understanding of the setting in Canberra into which Tongan women as migrants enter, being a juncture of the Tongan nation and Australian state. Here I do not wish to revisit old debates on how to define or study a community.⁸⁹ Rather, I question what constitutes the community of Tongans in Canberra, and what does 'community' mean to Tongans?

I have acknowledged how the state in Australia induces the voluntary development of ethnic communities as representative bodies for interaction with the

state and wider population. The boundaries of these groups are set by its members, and can be delineated on geographic origin, age, location, or gender, for example. In the ACT, for example, there are incorporated communities of the same broad ethnic backgrounds that differ by factors such as region of origin, recency of arrival, migration category, age, and language. An element that tends to be common to ethnic communities, however, is the amalgam of ethnicity and culture, which is greatly emphasised in the literature. In addition, an assumption of the state is that at least key members of the communities are permanent residents of Australia.

Representing shared ethnicity and culture is one element of the Tongan community in Canberra that Tongans have become more conscious of over recent years. Responses I gathered to what 'the Tongan community' means to Tongans varied from: "the Tongan ethnic association", to "all of the Tongans in Canberra", to Mafi's opinion which mixed both and considered the Tongan community to be any small group which can act on behalf of Tongans:

...when I go to book a hall for the Tongan community, I use the Tongan community for anything. But this means only for a small group of the Tongans...when I say Tongan community only because they are the one, the body of the Tongans, the people who are involved in things outside the Tongan as well e? There's not that many involved in things like that with the Government, it's only a few. But I count it because it's for the Tongans so I call them the Tongan community because it's for the Tongans you know? I think that way.

...one day something happen and we tell the rest because not all of the Tongans understand well you know? ...But when it comes to a thing for the whole of the people, for the Tongan community, they take part one way or the other, there's a part they play as well. So to me a small group, women's group or whatever, it's for the Tongan community.

Yet relevant concepts of community readily drawn from the literature – such as Weber's notions of ethnic honour, or charismatic leaders⁹⁰ – do not fit neatly within the perception of 'an emerging Tongan community' of increasing size and cohesiveness characterised by the state and the wider population. Arguably most Tongans, independently of community or state boundaries, share an ethnic honour. Charismatic leaders who have greatly influenced the community in Canberra have been both

permanent and visiting royals and religious figures who have drifted in and out of the community. These linkages and how they are organised – beyond conventionally described community/state boundaries – are important in understanding the Tongan community of Canberra. This is where the links between community and nationalism become important. Tongans do not use a Tongan language term to refer to the community in Canberra in everyday communication. Rather, the English language term has been broadly accepted amongst Tongans in Canberra. When Canberra Tongans refer to themselves in more formal speeches, or in radio broadcasts, they often use the phrase “*ko e kakai Tonga ‘i he kolomu’a ‘o ‘Aositelelia*” (or “the people of Tonga in the capital of Australia”), rather than referring to “Canberra (*Kenipela*)”. In doing so they are expressing pride and unity, and according their community a higher status by residing in the capital, compared to Tongans living in other cities of Australia. They apply this reference in the same way that residents of the Tongan capital, Nuku’alofa, are accorded a higher status than the “bush people” of Tonga. Interestingly, by virtue of their migration and residence in the Australian capital, some former “bush people” of Tonga now also share this higher status in Australia.⁹¹

Churchward defined ‘community’ in Tongan as *kakai ‘o e kolo* (broadly, as people collectively inhabiting a village, town, or city) with reference to *fakaenofa* (meaning, as a community, or pertaining to the community) (1955:609). There is consistency here with the current usage of the term in Canberra. But I consider the principle underlying the community is one of *fetokoni’aki* (helping one another) – as in the assistance given in migration – where community is more an interpretation of communalism and loyalty amongst Tongans, no matter where they live. This principle underpins all of the linkages in the community – perhaps nowhere more obvious than in the example of fundraising.⁹²

Tongamoa described fund-raising as important for community ties in Sydney and with Tonga, where she described three forms of collective fund-raising for "public remittances": *koniseti*, *kalapu*, and *hulohula*.⁹³ She explained that each activity has a feature which attracts cash, but all may include a *tau'olunga* (or dance performed by girls) and *fakapale* (1987:136). As for other Tongan communities, fund-raising in Canberra also takes these forms, most commonly through *konisetis* and *fakapale*. In addition, *katis* (described below) as well as conventional 'ticket' raffles are common.

Fund-raising is a significant and multi-faceted element of Tongan community life. In Canberra, one woman explained to me how "the cost of being Tongan increases when you are overseas", when you are supporting family in Tonga, community activities and touring fund-raisers. Another bemoaned Australia's discontinuance of the \$2.00 note as it had effectively raised the minimum donation to \$5.00 in the Tongan fund-raising economy.⁹⁴ At Canberra *konisetis* it is common to see either repetitive donations of \$5 and \$10 to different dancers, or fewer donations of \$20 and \$50. In the context of fund-raising, *fakapale* has been modified where gift giving is often not based on who is a good dancer, so much as who is dancing, or whose dance is being represented, or the purpose of the dance. For example, in *konisetis* organised through church leaders the funds raised from a dancer or dancers would represent the donation from that church, such as the City Uniting, Catholic, and so on. This practice has circumvented the need for individual families to donate and risk possible embarrassment if they cannot afford to donate an acceptable amount. Sometimes people will also donate if they know the dancer, regardless of who they are representing.

Funds raised from these activities contribute to similar purposes as those described by Tongamoa (1987), including refurbishments of educational institutions and schools, support for sporting associations and churches, and other groups both

from within Australia and Tonga. A recent success story that passed through Canberra was a musical band that travelled from Tonga to raise money for a Catholic primary school. From all of the Australian Tongan communities they visited in Australia they raised a total of \$0.5million, including \$A10,000 from the Canberra Tongans. This amount is not unusual, however, as another \$A5,000 was raised in one evening from Canberra Tongans by a brass band visiting some months later.

However, while they support these events, not all Tongans agree to the purposes for which the funds are used. One woman, for example, described how overseas Tongans' money was once used to re-build a church that had burnt down in Tonga. However, she was alarmed to hear that it was re-built to twice the size of the original church even though the congregation had reportedly declined to around half of its previous size. She saw this as a waste of money. While people do overcome any personal misconceptions they may have towards specific fund-raising events, there are some that they will not support at all. Canberra Tongans are generally highly selective in this regard. Some have been suspicious that funds raised had not always been used for their intended purpose, both by groups in Australia and overseas. This was the case for one *hulohula* event I attended which was organised by Tongans from another city in Australia. On this night I arrived at a Canberra club only to find that there were no Canberra Tongans there. That same night I met up with some of the Canberra Tongans who told me that they decided not to support that event because they were suspicious of its purpose. Despite their selectivity, however, Canberra Tongans host around ten fund-raising events per year, including *katis*.

Katis (to shuffle the cards) were introduced into the community after some Tongan women observed them being conducted by Fijian women in Canberra. Tongans will hold a *kati* for almost any worthwhile purpose: if a child has to attend an expensive school sports event, an unemployed person is having financial trouble, a

penniless visitor is returning to Tonga, or if someone has experienced a misfortune. In a *kati* items such as meat trays, bed linen, and household goods are held up for raffling. Participants will purchase cards that are then drawn from a barrel. As in a raffle, the person who has purchased the selected card wins the item. *Katis* are normally held at the house of the beneficiary and guests are invited by word of mouth. Normally around sixty people will participate in a *kati* after which they will enjoy "a cup of tea". The popularity of *katis* is that they obviate the need to organise people, invitations, food, and venue hire. So far, the minimum amount raised from a *kati* in Canberra has been \$1,000. A more recent example of informal fund-raising support is the current circuit of perfume parties being hosted by women in Tongan communities across NSW and Canberra. These parties once provided a primary source of income for a recently arrived migrant family in Canberra and, aside from interests in purchasing perfume, are supported by Tongan women in the spirit of *fetokoni'aki*.

While Tongamoa highlighted the links between Sydney Tongans and those in Tonga through public and family remittances, I suggest a further development is occurring in Canberra. Because activities such as *katis* and *konisetis* are broadening in their purpose, participants and recipients, including local non-public purposes, they do not always fit neatly into either of Tongamoa's remittance categories. Rather, the reason for this could be that they are 'community-focused' in Canberra rather than 'remittance-focused'. This becomes possible when we consider the Tongan community as Canberra-based, but not Canberra-bound, with its linkages within Canberra strengthening.

This increasing 'community-focus' is beginning to overcome the 'specific purpose' character of earlier informal community activities in Canberra, such as those Tongamoa described for Sydney. Such activities can be justified and evaluated in contexts not unlike activities in Tonga, and to varying degrees are a continuation of

Tongan life for diasporic Tongans: *faikava*, sports matches, funerals, birthdays and other significant events. By contrast, the *pālāngi* construct of an ethnic association has no tangible or immediate purpose, hence the earlier questions of 'why give it our \$5 to register for seemingly nothing in return', by the same people who then donated multiple sums of money to a visiting fundraiser. It is state specific and its existence is only valid in terms of its reference to the state. The absence of cultural codes, including those constructed around gender, have been problematic for Tongans' responses to this new cultural form in Canberra.⁹⁵ As such, it is not just the change in cultural institutions that migration brings into crisis or at least into question that is important, but the creation of new forms, formerly *pālāngi* but which Tongans are making Tongan. Increasing attention to issues of mutual concern - such as children's language choices, family relationships, and education, for example - is enhancing these cross-community linkages. People have become aware that an Association is needed to represent Tongan needs to the state, and that the community needs to support it to make this happen. In this sense, we see how the *pālāngi* institution of the Association and the term 'community' have become accepted by Tongans and made Tongan.

Accepting that the community is a complex web of inter-linking networks with an overarching representative body in Canberra, can we assume that it is all-encompassing? I consider it is, in spanning the scope of Tongan activity across the nation. On a day-to-day local level it is limited due to the number of people who are not actively involved in activities on an ongoing basis. However in terms of reach, it is, where those heavily involved in the community have said, "they may not participate, but we know where they are." Some people have explained to me that they enjoy living in Canberra because they do not have to participate in community activities if they choose not to, but that it is there for them when they do. They contrasted this with life in Tonga where social pressure to conform and participate in

activities is great. Another young woman said she liked Canberra because "there are not enough Tongans here to hold each other back. If Tongans want something here they can go for it". Yet I have observed that there is a large core of people who are more involved in the community than others. This is not a correlation of intermarriage, which van der Grijp (1993:156) described as the extreme instances of conflict between Tongan/*pālāngi* ideas, but more a factor of personal choice and circumstances. Many active participants are married to non-Tongans, while some couples who participate infrequently if at all are Tongan. In some cases *pālāngi* spouses are more involved than are some Tongans. Some women, like Tupou, have chosen not to participate at all, apart from attending an occasional funeral or birthday. Others are simply too busy operating businesses, working to pay their mortgage like Ane, or are too deeply involved with their own extended diasporic families.

Reminiscent of the performative aspect of 'being Tongan', those who are active in the community cannot understand why some choose not to associate with other Tongans. They see this behaviour as un-Tongan. One woman said of another, "How can she be Tongan, she doesn't come near us?" When I offered a reason for non-participation to another woman - that an anonymous person I knew did not like the gossip in the community - she replied: "I don't know why, I love to be talked about! The more people talking about me the better, it makes me important". Yet as Tupou said: "We are human too. We have jealousy, troublemakers...people who tell stories".

Canberra Tongans have clearly moved beyond Marcus' (1981:56) and Geddes' (1988:86) earlier observations that Tongans overseas live more as "concentrations" or "close-knit kin groups" than communities.⁹⁶ While their primary interactions are still of an informal nature amongst *kainga* and church members, what we have seen in Canberra is a complex layering of networks that link Canberra Tongans not only to each other, but to other diasporic Tongans and Tonga itself. These networks - resting

in inter-family marriage, inter-church worship, and common interests - form a horizontal bridge across Tongans in Canberra, who earlier and otherwise would not have known each other. Increasingly, Tongans' interactions with each other in Canberra are becoming just as important as those with their diasporic relatives, as they share common experiences. We have seen that over time a number of people and a range of circumstances have instigated and nurtured these networks in Canberra, and that individuals have varying levels of involvement in them as they pick and choose what they will involve themselves in. While *fetokoni'aki* is a useful concept to describe the character of these networks, so too is *habitus*. Beyond sharing ethnicity and culture, Tongans more accurately share a sense of common history and of what is natural, even if they do not activate it in a community context, nor discriminate along ethnic or geographical lines. The community concept may have been introduced to Tongans as a Western construct in a migrant context, but over time Tongans have gradually accepted it and made it relevant in a Tongan way. For Tongans in Canberra their 'community' is their nation, state, and family.

A Gendered Community

What does a focus on community imply for Tongan women as migrants, and how do they interpret the community in their lives? Emphasising Bloul's fundamental point that "collective identities and 'difference' ...are always gendered..." (1994:119), I consider that the confluence of a gendered Tongan nation and a gendered Australian state in the community has generated processes affecting the lived experiences of women in Canberra. Central to this thesis is the complicity of the Australian state and Tongan nation in emphasising (Tongan) culture overseas, the observance of which is highly gendered.

Earlier I referred to possible sites of struggle arising from key cultural institutions that can facilitate and exert control over Tongan migration, such as the family, church and broader community networks. As key elements of the "system" or *anga fakatonga* that is central to the Tongan nation, they are also gendered. The processes that sustain them are highly complex. I will draw briefly on examples here to illustrate the effect of these processes and influences on women.

Family (fāfili)

A young Tongan woman I interviewed once said, "We Tongans go back to fourth and fifth generations. Not like *pālangis* who only know their second or maybe third generations". Within the family structure, the important variables of rank, age, and gender determine how women and men are "relatively" ranked in the system (Gailey, 1980:297-298). Prior to Western penetration of Tonga, Gailey described how three abstract relations of superiority and inferiority existed in Tongan society: older was superior to younger, maleness was superior to femaleness (not men to women), and sisters were superior to brothers (1980:297). Gailey has often argued the complex process in which Western intervention, Christianity and capitalism have undermined the position of women in Tonga, particularly as sisters. While her assertions and gender relations in pre-contact and modern Tonga have been discussed and debated at length by scholars,⁹⁷ it is generally accepted, as Morton has explained, that gender is an important element of Tongan hierarchical ordering and is integral to self and personhood (1996:70). However, unlike Gailey, Morton described the symbolic association (albeit unstable) between femaleness and chieflikeness in Tonga, where:

The qualities associated with females - especially as sisters - are also those associated with *hou'eiki*: stasis, restraint, sanctity, superiority, dignity and so on. Similarly males and *tu'a* are defined by qualities of mobility, lack of restraint, inferiority and the like....Another dimension that can be added to all of these distinctions is the association of adulthood or maturity with the qualities ascribed to femaleness and chieflikeness and childhood with the qualities of maleness and nonchieflikeness (1996:101).

Ideal interpretations of gender processes affect the relative positioning of women in different contexts. Briefly, as sisters women have a higher status and perceived mystical powers (see James, 1995), and are *'eiki* to their brothers and their families. As wives, women are *tu'a* to their husbands and their families (particularly his sisters or *mehekitanga*). As mothers, women are *tu'a* to their children.

But in Tonga and overseas there is considerable variance in these observations. In Canberra, women have described the respect they still hold and observe for the *mehekitanga*, which is generally evident at life events when presentations of *koloa* (wealth, valuables) are made to her as *fahu*.⁹⁸ In day-to-day life, wives generally endeavour to keep the peace between their family and the *mehekitanga*. Some women have a good relationship with the *mehekitanga*, particularly if she does not abuse her position and evoke a challenge to her perceived authority. For others their relationship is a cause of intense arguments between husbands and wives. Other wives successfully avoid these situations altogether, or at least manage to arrange them on their terms, by living overseas. This was the case for both earlier and later migrants who expressed relief at no longer having to be at the beck-and-call of their husbands' family in Tonga. As Ane described, "it is hard in Tonga to live according to the custom and way of life, especially keeping up my sister-in-law and mother-in-law". However, the influence of the father's sister has been described as weakening for some time (apart from Gailey's assertions). In Tonga James (1983), Malama (1988) and Cowling (1990a) explained how the *fahu* is being sidestepped for other family members who have excelled in education, for example. These practices are also occurring in Canberra.

Brother-sister avoidance⁹⁹ is another aspect of the respect accorded to the sister (*'eiki*) that is difficult to observe in Canberra. From my survey, a large number of respondents said that this is one Tongan practice that should be retained in Australia,

but that is one of the more difficult to enact. As one woman said, "Here it is hard, when they cannot wear bedroom clothes around the house or watch TV together." Considering these practical difficulties in according respect to the sister overseas, could the assertion of chieflihood on the part of some women in the community equate to their perceived loss of standing as sisters in their diasporic families? Acknowledging the influence of sisters, I consider that greater emphasis is placed on the roles of women as wives, mothers and daughters through their positioning in the community and the influences of nation and state. Unlike Gailey, however, I do not contend that this necessarily undermines the position of women, as this ignores the specificity of lived experience. Rather, as the following situational examples describe, women have responded differently to this positioning.

Children

As we have seen, concern for the future of Tongan children in Canberra is a binding force in the community. A number of men are taking an active role in facilitating culturally appropriate guidance for children, through collecting videos on Tongan history, dance, current affairs and other issues for the Tongan school, saying the children have no other way of learning about Tonga. One man explained to me that he would stop at nothing to send his children to the Tongan language school to learn about their culture because they have no opportunity to do so at school or at home, as they have a *pālāngi* mother who only speaks English. Other men who are married to Tongan women offer help for the greater community, so all Tongan children have an opportunity to learn about their culture. Notwithstanding this interest and support from men, the greatest responsibility for passing on Tongan culture to children still rests with women as mothers. Morton said mothers have the greatest responsibility in teaching children proper *anga* (behaviour) so they may

become *poto* (socially competent) (1996:44, 82). She said it is mothers "...who will be judged most critically if their children do not demonstrate that they have learned these values. Mothers, in other words, are held responsible for ensuring that children become *poto*" (1996:125).

But raising children as Tongan in Canberra is very difficult. One non-Tongan woman married to a Tongan man, and mother of their children said:

I doubt that many children are brought up in a Tongan way once the Tongans are overseas...they are actually very much out of control at times - you know, running wild....I think probably Tongan parents have considerable difficulties in attempting to instil the traditional child-rearing and traditional values and everything else in the Australian setting. Especially once the children go to school and are influenced by peers...it must be increasingly difficult....I'm not saying that there are not some Tongan children brought up to sort of respect their parents and obey their parents...but on the whole it's not the case and on the whole a lot of Tongan parents experience very real problems and extreme conflict, sometimes because their children...are uncontrollable, whereas in Tonga they would be controllable...It's almost unthinkable that they would act in ways that would annoy their parents or upset their relatives...

Alternatively, a Tongan woman married to a *pālangi* man explained to me that in her opinion Tongan children experience an unparalleled amount of discipline and control in their upbringing. From her perspective, many Tongan children are brought up in fear, with the constant threat of violence if they disobey their parents. As a result they are ill-equipped to cope with the demands and pressures placed upon them as teenagers in Australia, as demonstrated through their anger, dropping out of school and joining gangs. She used her own daughter as an example of her preferred way of bringing up children, as she said they can speak openly to each other about things that other Tongan parents would not dream of discussing with their daughters.

The pressure on mothers for their children to grow up and succeed is compounded by the fact that students and education are held in high regard amongst the Tongans of Canberra. The importance of both Tongan and Western education and the role of students is formally celebrated through their support of activities such as the Ethnic Schools Day, the annual CATS education church service, and the weekend

language and dancing schools mentioned earlier.¹⁰⁰ The importance of education and students to Canberra Tongans was also conveyed in the welcoming speech by Her Royal Highness to Queen Mata'aho at the Afternoon Tea in August 1997:

...today you have visited (Canberra) again and the warmth in every Tongan heart has no bounds. However, our hearts strain towards the mountain range that surrounds Canberra, for assistance and means to express our joy; for we are few in number and lack the resources to provide a worthy welcome.

Our claim to bigness manifests itself in another field; namely through the sizeable number of Tongan students studying here in Canberra. That is to say, the opportunity for and completion of education at all levels and fields here in Canberra, for students from Tonga, provide an academic vanguard as it were, for the men and women of Tonga.

(Recorded transcript translated from Tongan)

It is also worthy of note that the Tongan Association has made provision in its Constitution in the event of folding, for all of its residual assets to be given to CATS (see Appendix 3). However, it is of concern to some parents that around 85% of the tertiary students in Canberra were not raised in Canberra but have migrated or entered on temporary visas from Tonga. Some Tongans have given me their own reasons on why this is so, such as it being easier for Canberra youth to be distracted from study and to leave school earlier in search of wage employment. Here some parents consider that their children's desire for education is secondary to their desire for wage employment - where it is easier to earn money now rather than study to earn more money later. Others said that it is "too easy" for Tongan youth here as they have no incentive to study, having already achieved the goal of living overseas compared to youth in Tonga who face tough competition for overseas study scholarships. Yet another person has suggested that it is the parents who do not provide sufficient practical encouragement and material support for young students in Australia.

Similar issues for Tongans in Sydney resulted in the formation of the Promoting Education and Training Tongan Association (PETTA) in 1991. The former Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA) said PETTA was formed in response to a

perceived lack of direction in the Tongan community, and a perceived lack of understanding by parents of the problems children experienced at school. DIEA noted that PETTA conducted free tutorials for Tongans and South Sea Islanders from kindergarten to university level in eight Sydney suburbs. In 1994 it helped 540 students, primarily through those Tongans in Australia as university students who became voluntary tutors. PETTA also provided advocacy for children who appeared before juvenile courts by explaining the cultural factors of their behaviour, and provided a twelve-week tuition course for parents on how to participate actively in their children's education (DIEA, 1995:6).

But in Canberra there is a great deal of confusion about the best way to educate the children, both as Tongans and as Australian school-children. One woman lamented to me: "Sometimes I don't know what's better, to force them or to lead them". Some parents believe that sending children to Tonga to live is the best way to instil discipline and respect. Others disagree saying it is unfair and cruel because, "we are in Australia now. Let them discover how to be Tongan in Australia". Still others express concern on the timing and duration of the visits, saying that what they might benefit from learning Tongan culture, they lose elsewhere in falling behind in school in Australia. Similar debates were aired over one of the two Tongan radio programs, in which a panel discussed whether children should speak English or Tongan at home. From my survey, four times the number of respondents said that at home their children spoke English compared to those who spoke Tongan. Around half again spoke both languages at home, with a small percentage competent in speaking three languages (usually Tongan, English and their other parent's first language). From my observation, those children who could speak Tongan were usually older (late teens) and/or those who migrated from Tonga as children. The outcome of the radio discussion was that children should be allowed to communicate in whichever

language that enables them to best express their thoughts (S. Lafitani, personal communication, 1997).

The importance placed upon children growing up as Tongans in Canberra was best exemplified in a speech delivered by a Tongan community leader at a young man's 21st birthday, which reminded him of what it is to be Tongan in a *pālangi* world:

Today your parents, your family and friends is here to celebrate your being mature, mature to live according to what you think maturity is all about. We Tongan, we are different from other civilisations because in Western civilisation they emphasise the independence one's had. As you know, it is the aim of the code of any parent is to brought up their children so they may grow mature and let them go and be independent. It is not with the Tongan. Tongan is different. We are born into a system and we are born into the system which has its privileges as well as its responsibilities. And maturity means...that we can do things better than it was before. You become a better son. You become a better brother. You become a better, whatever you like. One of the better citizens and one of the better Christians. So today it marks your big maturity when you become 21. Not because of the independence you are going to have, but because of the privileges as well as responsibility is put into you because of the systems we all grow up to. As a Tongan, that's what is meant to be 21 years old. You are mature and we would like to celebrate your being mature in everything you do. Its not to find your own independence but it is as one of the family, one of Tongan citizens and one of God's children, you become a better children of God (Transcribed from tape, 1998).

From my survey and interviews, the point of departure for many Tongans is not *what* set of Tongan values should be retained in Australia and instilled in children, but *how* this should be done. From my survey (Appendix 1, questions 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4) most respondents wanted to preserve what they identified as the Tongan *values* of respect, love, prayer, and caring for extended families. There were many differences, however, in which *practices* people believed should be maintained overseas. Many believed that "big parties", "feasts", and "big funerals" should cease to occur in Canberra as they are too expensive and time consuming. Also "to reduce the money we donate or put into any Tongan fundraising, because most families here in Australia depend on the benefits from Social Security." Others believed children should observe cultural practices of not touching the father's head or left-over food, and obedience at all times to parents; while others said children should be given freedom to explore their own identity and to have a "voice" in family situations. One woman said the "so called

sacredness of the virginity of women" should cease, while "respect/support to the women leaders in a family hierarchy...aunts, sisters (and)...females in a family to retain their power in decision making process" should be retained in Australia. Moreover she said that the practice of unequal treatment between male and female children should cease. Also from my survey, there were very few reports of problems with children at school, either between themselves and teachers, or between children and others. These comments of parents, of course, may be quite different to how the children may have responded.

Marriage

There are 100 'married' couples amongst all of the Tongan residents of Canberra (including *de facto* couples, and those now living separately). 52% of these marriages are mixed marriages (that is, a Tongan married to a non-Tongan). There are no apparent gender differences in the rate of mixed marriages amongst Tongans, as 32% of Tongan and half-Tongan married women and 38% of married men are in mixed marriages. Of these marriages, however, there are apparent gender differences in their choice of non-Tongan partner, with 76% of men being married to *pālangi* Australian-born women, while only 39% of women are married to *pālangi* Australian-born men. More women than men are married to migrants from other countries, mainly from Europe and the South Pacific region. How far this rate of 'out-marriage' is part of a person's migration strategy for permanent residence in Australia is difficult to determine without further research, as one certainly cannot assume that all out-marriages have such motives. Nevertheless one woman has suggested to me that the chance of obtaining residency in Australia would have been a key factor for around 40% of the women who entered mixed marriages. She explained: "Tongan women do not always marry for love. They look for a good provider and a secure home.

Children are everything!'. For Meleane, who married a *pālangi* in Tonga prior to her migration, it was a case of: "I'd rather get married than stay on and do something silly to make my family ashamed. There was no love - I liked him. I wanted to help my father".

Results from my survey provided a range of answers to the question seeking the responses of migrants' families when they married a non-Tongan person (Appendix 1, question 5.12). Some responses were as straight-forward as "Nothing". Others responded "Hesitant at first, but happy", and:

Worried at first of lost contact with me, but after knowing my husband they think it is up to the person to take the effort of communicating, and it('s) got nothing to do with culture or race.

Some were very positive, such as the woman who responded: "It was up to me. My brothers love him because I love him". Still others provided negative responses, such as: "They preferred a Tongan person/spouse"; as well as a couple of ambiguous responses: "It does not matter who you marry, a Tongan or a non-Tongan. You have to keep your promise." The sample was too small to detect differences in family responses based on the gender of the Tongan spouse. However, from general conversation some Tongans felt that it was easier for a Tongan woman to 'marry out' than a Tongan man, because men tend to rely more on women for reinforcing their 'Tongan-ness' and involvement in Tongan activities overseas. If his wife is not Tongan, or does not understand the Tongan way, then that can make him feel more isolated from his kin and culture. This supports an observation I noted that of the women who chose not to participate in the community, such as Tupou, they fulfilled their 'Tongan-ness' in their own way. In addition, as we have seen in chapter four, women are more active than men in maintaining linkages with families in Tonga.

Another reason offered by women on why female out-marriage is less likely to fail is because Australian men (both *pālangis* and other migrants) are more "relaxed"

about their wives' involvement with their families and church, while non-Tongan wives are less comfortable with the demands placed on themselves and their husbands. Moreover, that non-Tongan wives may simply have more pressures placed on them in a Tongan marriage than husbands if they are ascribed the *tu'a* status of 'wife' in the Tongan system. This suggests that a greater "culture shock" (to quote one *pālangi* wife's words) might be experienced by non-Tongan wives than husbands, such as a *pālangi* wife's surprise when her husband's sister named their new-born baby, to which her husband explained that this was part of the Tongan way.¹⁰¹ Or when another non-Tongan wife described how difficult it was for her to be continually generous to the extended family and wider community when she believed her own children's welfare should come first. This brought pressure on her husband and their marriage. When she was amongst Tongan women she said she could not tolerate their "gossip" saying, "They think I can't understand what they're saying about me, but they don't know that I can understand Tongan". While these observations risk generalising and over-simplifying inter-marriage - and are open to debate - it is nevertheless important to record how Tongans interpreted inter-marriage in terms of gender roles and expectations. For non-Tongans married to Tongans this gendering highlights the importance of women in maintaining cultural linkages in the family.

Violence and Support in the Diaspora

I was once told of an incident at a wedding where a Tongan man punched his wife in the face. As she left the room visibly upset the other guests laughed.¹⁰² Several hours later while she and the children waited outside in their car, the man staggered out of the venue in a drunken state. They went home and the incident was later forgotten. Statistics from the Domestic Violence Crisis Service¹⁰³ in Canberra show that the rate of domestic violence amongst families identified as Tongan, when I

compared them to the number of Tongan families from the census, is around 1 in 5. Currently the Service has 21 Tongan women seeking assistance from them, although there may be others whose ethnicity has not been recorded. Of the 21 known clients, 19 have children who collectively number 59. This is a total of 80 known Tongan clients affected by violence to the extent of seeking assistance. Of the 21 known perpetrators, 15 are Tongan men, and 6 are from other cultural backgrounds. As explained to me by a Tongan woman, violence by Australian standards means any harmful activity escalating from verbal abuse and minor physical contact. To the Tongans 'violence' means drawing blood or knocking someone unconscious. In this regard, she estimated that around 90% of Tongan families in Canberra experience domestic violence by Australian standards, and around 25% of families by Tongan standards.

Kavapalu (1993) explained the role of violence in Tongan child socialisation in her exploration of this "dark side" of Tongan culture. In this article she confronted the "dilemma" of cultural relativism in understanding the use of violence in Tonga, by exploring Tongan and *pālāngi* concepts of abuse, intervention, and changing attitudes to violence in Tonga. When broadened to wife-beating, Morton explained that the beatings a Tongan female child receives from her mother may be later replaced by her husband after marriage (1996:189). Violence and punishment are administered as a sign of love. If a child is not punished he or she is not given enough love. However Morton also clarified that wife-beating does not have the same teaching quality or association with 'ofa as has the discipline of a child. Also, that while husbands are 'eiki to their wives, women are seldom subservient to their husbands (1996:210). Numeitolu eloquently described violence in terms of the Tongan socio-cultural system as the newly married husband "physically breaking any resistance or thought of rebellion that the wife might entertain" (1993:75-76). He explained that only later in

their marriage after she has been demoted from being "a *fahu* or leader in her parent's family" to "an obedient, submissive wife" will he begin to appreciate her as a person.

But violence in Canberra provides an excellent example of how gender and status operate in the system. For a commoner wife married to a religious leader, a good footballer, or someone else of social standing in the community, the general view is that she should accept his beatings as she is fortunate to have married well. On the other hand, if a commoner husband is beating his wife of relative rank, his beatings may be seen as well deserved by her family as she should not have married beneath herself. However it is less likely for a man to hit his wife in public if she is of a higher rank. As a sister, one woman who was beaten by her husband when visiting her brother's house stopped her protective brother from intervening by explaining that it was not his concern and he had no right to do so.

A "typical" scenario of domestic violence was described to me by a woman on behalf of four families she knew of in this situation: on "pay day" the husband collects his pay and after work drinks with his friends. After consuming too much alcohol he returns home where his wife asks for his pay. She explains that they have a number of bills, and no food to feed the hungry children. When she learns how much he has spent already she becomes upset with him, and he retaliates by beating her.¹⁰⁴ While they know it is wrong and not acceptable in Australia, none of the women in these families will seek assistance or go to the Police. The woman explained to me that "they do not like to air their dirty laundry". Instead they have developed a private, informal domestic violence network where they telephone each other, talk about the incident, and comfort each other. This is consistent with Niumeitolu's statement that "a good family home depends upon the calmness projected by the wife to the community" (1993:76).

Their children also do the same when they become victims of the violence as well. My interlocutor explained that the children think and act like violence is normal. For daughters in particular their behaviour is even more controlled because of the belief that they should remain morally protected and well behaved. As the first woman explained "some young girls are living in total fear", as their parents do not know how to cope with being Tongan in a completely different environment. She considered that their control over their daughters' behaviour makes them far more conservative than Tongans in Sydney, and even in Tonga. This compares with Bottomley (1979) and Bloul's (1992) descriptions of Greek and Maghrebi migrant communities respectively where aspects of the continuity and preservation of identity were embodied in the moral protection of their women. While this is not to suggest that violence is always used in these negotiations amongst Tongans, it brings forward an issue which is a concern of both mothers and fathers – that their daughters marry as virgins. However, interestingly, this is really only an issue when the mother and daughter are continuing to live as Tongans overseas. As one woman clearly explained: "if the women act like *pālangis* then it doesn't matter if their daughters fall pregnant before marriage. But if they bring their daughter up in the Tongan way then it is very embarrassing." She went on to explain that an illegitimate pregnancy is shameful for the girl and her mother, and moreover it "brings down" the whole family as well.

Through *Loto Taha* Canberra women have discussed what to do about domestic violence, and the kinds of support they can receive. A Tongan woman who works in a domestic violence service delivered an information session that was considered very useful by those present. One participant later explained to me "...we asked her to talk to the meeting to help us – what her job doing to help the Tongans – so if something happen to me and the children, you know, teenage children, you know to ring and ask her...". As reflected in the welcoming speech to Her Majesty by the Princess in

August 1997, another woman quipped that it was not she who needed the help, but her husband! *Loto Taha* considered the possibilities of re-educating the community about domestic violence. One suggestion was to use existing networks such as church leaders and others of social standing to influence the community's behaviour, but the success of this was considered limited as some of them do it too. As fully recognised by the community, it is not that women are unaware of their rights, but that they choose not to use them because of the social pressures that underpin every incident. This is exemplified through yet another woman who explained to me that she has even gone to the extent of seeking legal advice. In her case it is not only her husband who beats her, but once his friends also hit her after she "spoke out of turn". She said that her *pālangi* solicitor explained that the violence she is suffering is wrong, but she feels that *pālangis* do not understand. She will not leave her husband because she does not want to live alone and risk being rumoured in the Tongan community as being morally loose with men. Also because she wants her children to grow up knowing their father. Instead of leaving, she told me that she is learning to keep quiet and not to provoke her husband. She hopes that eventually he will "come around".

Loto Taha has enabled women to seek and provide support for each other on a range of other issues, such as health, food preparation, and family relationships. Yet *Loto Taha* itself has had difficulties. Mafi explained to me that it has not been as beneficial as it could be. She said:

Women don't stand together, not as one. It needs oneness to build anything, which is good in a way its different views, to see different things, but it will work if these different things can, you see, can come to one. Like the ethnic group, the Tongan ethnic group, it is there, it is still going but still there's little things that can be solved and it will help. But there will be someone who stands there and they pull and concentrate on that which is not very important, it's all what she sees and that's all what she'll stand, instead of having a mind and understanding to spring together...I think it needs education...but I think in the future it will be a long way, but I'm sure it will be better because it is just starting.

She went on to say that the Princess was a good leader of *Loto Taha*, but at one point even she may have given up on the group due to its “differences”. She then said:

...it's a pity because we need that, for women to come together. There are lots of things for women to share and learn from each other...mainly the family, children, teenagers, mainly the family because we are here in this society. We meant to talk a lot about that and encourage each other about the ways of this life. But to me mainly it is family because it is not easy to anybody, whether Australian or Tongan you know? We need to encourage each other and learn from each other.

One of the major influences Her Royal Highness had over the women in Canberra was her encouragement of women to reduce the cultural burden placed upon them by adopting alternative, simpler practices on formal occasions. The Princess believed that women did not have the time, nor should need to prepare traditional feasts on such occasions in the overseas setting of Canberra (Her Royal Highness, personal communication, 1997). She set an example and began leading the way in alternative, appropriate forms of receiving official guests, such as through cocktail parties, lunches and afternoon teas, without in any way detracting from the significance of the occasion or respect accorded to the visitor.¹⁰⁵ So, in December 1997 we saw members of the Royal Family enjoying a three course *pālāngi* meal at Rydges Hotel while being entertained by Canberra and Sydney Tongans dancing Tongan dances throughout the afternoon - with some wearing costumes made from *ngatu pālāngi* (see chapter six). An irony is while Tongans were beginning to host Tongan royalty in more streamlined *pālāngi* ways at four-star hotels, they then returned to preparing Tongan feasts and dance-costumes for the multicultural events in mainstream Australia. Some women mentioned to me that they would not have changed without the Princess's leadership, even though my survey revealed that breaking away from feasts, and the lesser treatment of women as wives, were precisely the cultural practices that Canberra Tongans wished to abandon in Australia. Canberra Tongans were becoming more “economical” in feasting and gift giving prior to the Princess's arrival, but it required

the influence of a respected (charismatic) leader to radically change cultural practices for the time.

Work

The Princess's encouragement of women to make life simpler was partly in recognition of the different work pressures women face in Australia. In the next chapter I refer to the gender division of labour in Tonga and the association of 'inside' duties with women, and 'outside' duties with men. In Canberra, my survey indicated that women (mothers and daughters) carry out domestic chores in nearly all households, and men do nearly all of the gardening (see Appendix 1, question 5.11). This differs from the results of an earlier survey conducted in 19 villages in Tonga, where 85% of husbands helped their wives in household activities when they were free from their work. In particular, men helped with cooking, washing, ironing and sweeping (Faletau, 1982:47). Fleming, however, found that men's contribution to household tasks was primarily helping with food preparation (1986:34). Still, she highlighted the "levelling effect" between husbands and wives effected by economic participation and receiving remittances, implying that a relationship of reciprocity existed between some husbands and wives with regard to the division of labour and access to cash in Tonga (1986:44-45).

Securing employment is a difficult task for some Tongans, and the issue of unemployment was earlier discussed in the context of the Association. The tables below summarise employment participation figures for men and women survey respondents (Appendix 1, questions 1.4, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4):

Table 7: Occupation type and length of employment - Men

<i>Responses</i>	<i>< 2 years</i>	<i>3 - 5 years</i>	<i>6 - 10 years</i>	<i>> 10 years</i>
Management, Administrative, Professional	-	1	1	2
Unskilled work, Labouring, Barwork, Gardening	-	2	1	1
Trade, eg. carpenter, painter, plumber, mechanic	-	1	-	2
Unemployed	-	3	-	-
Studying	-	2	-	-
Total Number of Respondents	0	9	2	5

Table 8: Occupation type and length of employment - Women

<i>Responses</i>	<i>< 2 years</i>	<i>3 - 5 years</i>	<i>6 - 10 years</i>	<i>> 10 years</i>
Unskilled work, Domestic staff, Cleaning	-	6	1	1
Management, Administrative, Professional	-	-	3	3
Retired	-	2	1	-
Housework	-	-	1	2
Unemployed	-	2	-	-
Clerical	-	1	-	2
Casual employment, eg. various	-	1	-	-
Trade, eg. childcare, hairdressing	1	-	-	-
Studying	-	1	-	-
Total Number of Respondents	1	13	6	8

The gendering of employment according to culturally acceptable work is apparent in the tendency of women to work in 'inside' occupations, such as nursing, teaching, domestic work, and secretarial work. For men, trades and administrative/professional employment are the primary occupations, as well as unskilled labour. With the absence of a significant manufacturing sector in the ACT and Queanbeyan, unskilled Tongans are unable to seek employment in factories as in Sydney. As a result, I have been told that Tongan unemployment in Canberra is relatively high, however my survey sample is too small for me to comment authoritatively. It also does not cover young Tongans born in Australia.

Employment type equates with level of education, where those respondents with a tertiary or trade level education (69% of men, 25% of women) tend to be employed in

higher paid occupations with a greater level of job security. Those with secondary school qualifications or below (31% men and 75% women) are more likely to be unemployed, not in the workforce, or engaged in relatively unskilled work. Those whose employment was not commensurate with their education level tended to be more recent migrants like Ane whose qualifications had not been recognised in Australia, and who were in the process of up-grading their education to secure higher-paid work. Those with higher levels of education found employment through a wider range of sources, such as newspaper advertisements. Those employed as domestic staff or in casual positions tended to use family networks or friends to secure employment. Due to the recency of migration, and my survey only being conducted with migrants, little difference could be detected between the employment characteristics of Island-born and Australian-born Tongans in Canberra (cf. Larner, 1991). It is too early to draw such conclusions from the community, as the eldest of many of those born here are still only in their early 20s.

My survey produced different results concerning domestic and paid work compared to those I anticipated from the literature. Child-care was not raised as an issue preventing women from engaging in employment, either now (because many of their children are at school or work), or before when they first migrated. This could be a correlation of the number of available carers in the community, and that most early migrants were single, and either studying or employed. Rather, child-rearing as discussed above is of far more concern.

While some Tongans reported relatively "subtle" forms of discrimination at work, proportionately more women than men said they suffered discrimination. Those women engaged in domestic services suffered the most direct discrimination, primarily from other migrants rather than *pālangis*, including those they described as Portuguese, "Asians", Croatian, and Greeks. One woman described how they

sarcastically said to her, "Oh, we didn't know ou had motels in Tonga". Another said, "they push you to do work more than other cleaners". A woman in white-collar employment said: "People look at Tonga as a small island - treat me as a person not fully educated - make fun of my pronunciation. But when we worked I proved them wrong. Later they asked for my help." For men, discrimination was most experienced by those advancing their careers, either as white-collar workers or tradesmen. One man said:

People, especially Europeans, tend to under-estimate your abilities. A lot of people that I've encountered couldn't read, but spoke English well. They don't know that most Tongans speak English poorly, but could read and write fairly well.

I have always admired the resilience and ability of many Tongans to calmly rationalise the behaviour of others who they have encountered in their migration. Cowling was similarly "impressed by the competence of women," concluding from her observations of Tongan women in Sydney:

They seek to maintain Tongan values as well as maintaining relationships with people who often have little understanding of these values, people such as employers, fellow workers, bureaucrats, neighbours, non-Tongan church members and so on. (1994:15)

Women's Community Participation

Women are prominent in community networks and, as we have seen, some have been key activists in attempting to re-create social stratification in Canberra through their status elevation as *hou'eiki*. Tongan women have shown incredible resourcefulness in ensuring the community is equipped with sufficient stocks of locally made funeral and wedding baskets, *ngatu* (discussed next chapter), and dance costumes, using available materials. Over the years of my involvement in the community, the quality and variety of dance costumes, in particular has noticeably improved due to the innovation and imagination of a handful of creative women tasked with this responsibility. Through the Association women have cornered the

cultural terrain as a basis of their interactions with the state through securing grants funding, and as their entry into influencing broader community affairs. Sydney Tongans once teased the Canberra women for “wearing the pants” in being a driving force in Tongan community activities. They were not suggesting that the men do not play a vital role in these activities, but that the men would ask them what needed to be done. The inclusion of *Loto Taha* in the updated constitution of the Tongan Association (Appendix 4) is one example of the increasing influence and recognition women have achieved over the years.

Through these examples I have endeavoured to highlight the responsibilities placed on women to ensure children are raised culturally appropriately, that the family meets its cultural obligations, and that women live and behave in culturally acceptable ways. At the same time, I have tried to emphasise the opportunities accorded through the state for women to assert their ‘control’ over their charge for cultural capital, by becoming more involved in the new concept of an ethnic association. In these ways, the Tongan nation and Australian state comply to emphasise women’s cultural role. Yet at the same time, through this emphasis, other aspects of lived experience are overlooked or given secondary attention – employment, discrimination, domestic violence, domestic division of labour, and child rearing practices, which are perhaps more problematic than the weight given to maintaining one’s culture overseas. This focus on culture, therefore, has had benefits and drawbacks for women.

Community and Identity

The situation now is that there are islander communities - some sizeable, some mere pockets - all over New Zealand and Australia, in California, Texas; in and around Salt Lake City, New York and Philadelphia, in Miami and British Columbia, Canada and many other places.

There the islanders live as third and fourth class citizens, employed in the menial of jobs - those that the people of those countries would not take - and very largely ignored by the governments of their adopted countries. They are looked down upon, quietly discriminated against, exploited in national celebrations as exhibitionist, cultural freaks, and referred to as 'coconuts'. Yet the islanders, especially the Polynesians, are oblivious to this treatment. (Helu, 1991:8)

Bottomley stressed the "double-edged" aspect of identity, where one can identify positively with people perceived to be similar to themselves, but mutual understanding rests on shared objectives and understandings (1997:43). Bottomley considered that multiculturalism has enabled ethnic differences to be celebrated, and that it is sometimes beneficial to identify with "migrantness" (1997:44). Her observations are crucial to my understanding of how Tongans to varying degrees have embraced the concept of community in the migrant setting of Canberra.

Yet referring back to the cultural and ethnic identity distinctions posited by Linnekin and Poyer (1990), and the rejection by Morton (1998b) of such binaries in relation to Tongans, difficulty results for me in analytic terms. The problem is that I see merit in both ways of thinking, yet I am not fully comfortable with either. For example, I fully support Morton's following point:

The term cultural identity allows for both variations within a group and multiplicity of identities within the individual. Intra-group variations include "non-ethnic" distinctions, such as Tongans distinctions between bush and town people.... Individuals also may have disparate identities that defy clear-cut ethnic labelling...(1998b:4)

But let us not dismiss what I consider an important element of forming diasporic identities by resolving an analytical problem. That element is Bottomley's "specificity of time and place" (1997:45), where the state fiction of a community (as distinct from the Tongans' reality of their community) ascribes a fixed ethnic identity that has

induced Tongans to respond in ethnic terms. So while I am not disagreeing with Morton's view, I am adding that element of artificial reality into my analysis and acknowledging its effect on Canberra Tongans. Regardless of how Tongans perceive themselves, or how various others perceive them (as Australian-Tongan, Polynesian and so on), the ascription of 'community' which is presented to the wider population in limited cultural references (food, dance, language) ignores the very processes that Morton quite rightly pinpoints as vital. As Bottomley reminds us, multiculturalism in Australia defines cultures (and I add, cultural identity) in ethnic terms (1992:54).

But this is not necessarily a problem for Tongans. As we have seen, some have fully embraced the notion of community, making it 'Tongan'. Similarly, the emphasis on cultural practices such as dance is not necessarily the intellectually-limited version of culture as "spaghetti and polka", nor the exploitation of "exhibitionist, cultural freaks" that Castles et.al. (1988:121) and Helu (1991:8) respectively claimed.¹⁰⁶ Rather, as Bottomley stressed, "the mastery of the complexities of music, dance and the preparation of food is mastery in any language" (1987:5). More importantly, they are aspects of culture that Tongans are extremely proud to share, and of which they cannot be as readily dismissive.¹⁰⁷ This point is best exemplified in an extract from a father's speech on the evening of his daughter's wedding:

It will never cease to amaze me, taking into account that I have been in this country for so long, to see the traditions of the ethnic backgrounds - which just go to show how rich the cultural and ethnic backgrounds Australia has got to offer in this country. And I think that us as immigrants coming to this country also have got a lot to offer. And as you have witnessed today, it's hardly a bit of a traditional Tongan wedding in this wedding! Most of it has all been done in the Western civilization style. And I think it's inevitable that us ethnic backgrounds, ethnic people, or original people who have come to this country, we will eventually take on this...as this is the only way we can live in harmony with the traditional Australian people here. I know one Tongan tradition that I think we will never be able to part with, as far as Tongans will say, is food. As you even witness today. We will be able to part with every other tradition that we have adopted over here, but as far as food is concerned, we will never be able to part with it. We will really go out of our way to retain our traditional food. So in that sense it is very nice for us Islanders, or us ethnic backgrounds who come from all different ethnic countries, we still have to cling to some sort of tradition that will act as an identity to us in a foreign country.

(Transcribed from tape, 1998)

The growing consciousness of Canberra Tongans as a community is paralleled by their awareness of the multicultural environment in which they live, and their part in it as an ethnic community with a distinctly Tongan ethnic identity. Examples abound on how Tongans refer to multiculturalism in formal community settings. In her welcoming speech to Her Majesty Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho to afternoon tea at the Hyatt Hotel in Canberra, Princess Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho (on behalf of *Loto Taha*) made a direct reference to the community and multiculturalism:

Your reception today, Your Majesty, is an indictment of our subsistence; our fewness in number and our paucity in wealth. But in spite of its size, the Tongan community in Canberra actively participates in the multicultural that is Australia today. And we do that to the best of our ability as ambassadors for Your Majesty's kingdom in the Western world. (August 1997. Recording. Translated from Tongan)

Another is the aunt (MZ) at a 21st birthday paying tribute to her sister's daughter's non-Tongan father:

I would also like to pay tribute to you tonight for the wonderful family you have raised. You have raised them in a multicultural way and it has greatly enriched your children and that has become a great example to all of us... (Transcribed from tape, 1998)

Even in the Tongan Association's Constitution (Appendices 3 and 4) multiculturalism as an important aspect of its charter. The aims of the Association are:

- (A) To encourage close and warm relationships among members of the Tongan community in Canberra and Queanbeyan.
- (B) To provide counselling and liaison services to assist members with major resettlement problems in this country.
- (C) To provide liaison between the Association and the Department of Immigration and State/Federal Ethnic Affairs bodies.
- (D) To ensure that the rights of members of the Association are protected.
- (E) To promote the idea of the development of a multi-cultural society in Australia.

(The Tongan Association of Canberra and Queanbeyan, 1994).

Moreover, Tongan ethnic identity in Canberra is often celebrated and reaffirmed in relation to others. Through participation in annual multicultural festivals for

example, Tongans are even more aware of what makes them Tongan. A Tongan woman once gave a humorous rendition of how she saw the character of Tongans in relation to other ethnic communities. She roared with laughter as she told me about the poor business sense of Tongans compared to the business acumen of "Asians". I will relate her perception of multicultural festivals below, in the way she told to me (not verbatim):

Each ethnic community had a food stall lined in rows. Next to the Tongans' food stall some "Asians were selling small pots of rice for \$5 a piece." Their "old mother" stood there all day serving it up piece by piece. They were making lots of money. The Tongans, however, were selling their food for \$5 per heaped plate, including a piece of watermelon. The Tongans sold out of their food in a couple of hours. The Asians were still selling theirs late into the day. "They must have made a big profit." The Tongans, however, resulted in a loss, not even covering the cost of the food.

"Next year we didn't learn", the same thing happened. But this time the Tongans included a free glass of *'otai* with their meals. They still sold it for \$5. Even the Maoris in the next stall ate the Tongans' food because it was better value than theirs'. By early afternoon the Tongans decided to abandon their stall to join the dancing. That year they did better, however, making a \$7 profit! "But we were happy" she said.

Yet the plight of being "very small" (cf. Hau'ofa, 1993) follows Tongans across the oceans and into the ethnic community context of Canberra. Its status as an emerging minority group has suggested that it might be more successful in securing government support if it grouped together with equally small Pacific Island

communities with similar needs. Belfrage described the Ethnic Minorities' Action Group (EMAG) as a possible model for "the adoption of a co-operative approach among the new and emerging ethnic communities in the ACT" (1995:17).¹⁰⁸ She described the benefit of EMAG as identifying and articulating common needs across communities, enabling effective advocacy on the basis of shared needs. She added that the Tongan community representative she consulted for her report expressed interest in participating in such a group in the ACT (1995:17). Milhare suggested a similar solution for Maoris in Sydney:

Numbers of Pacific Island people in Australia are relatively small so their chances of receiving a piece of the (funding) cake are not very good. A possible solution could be to combine forces with another community that has a similar cultural background.....Surely it must reduce the odds. (1993:68-69).

However Va'a described how a similar arrangement of the Pacific Islands Council (PIC) - which requested public funding for redistribution to Tongan, Samoan and Fijian communities in Sydney - did not satisfy the needs of these communities for various reasons, leading to their severing of ties in the late 1980s. The Samoan Advisory Council in Sydney then received funding directly, which added to its recognition and respect (1995:192-193).¹⁰⁹ One wonders whether such an arrangement would succeed for Tongans given the complex processes of unification and disaggregation that occur *within* Tongan communities overseas, let alone those that could occur *between* several Island communities.¹¹⁰ As we have seen in Canberra the acceptance of the Tongan Association itself has become a challenging process. This is quite apart from any consideration of the influence of cultural identities mentioned below. Perhaps a conscious re-assertion of Hau'ofa's Oceanic connections would be necessary pre-requisite to its success, such as a utopic Oceanic vision (see Hau'ofa 1998).

The assumption and over-emphasis on a fixed ethnic identity suggests that it functions as a response to dealing with others. It obscures the very processes that brought Tongans together, and can equally well pull them apart. It does not disclose negotiation resistance and acceptance of new cultural forms as the next chapter describes, for example. Tongans have no trouble in representing themselves as Tongan in the state culture. But across the Tongan nation emotive discussions and comparisons of diasporic Tongans to those in Tonga show that Tongan identity can be a hotly contested area (cf. Small 1997, Morton 1998a, 1998b). Yet it is easy to be oblivious to these struggles in Canberra when admiring Tongans' united public displays of dance, song and food. But by not seeing the difference between cultural and ethnic identities we risk perpetuating in reverse the very problem Bottomley described with multiculturalism: – aligning culture with ethnicity and ignoring the difference.

Shifts in cultural identity and adherence to *anga fakatonga*, collectively interpreted by Tongans, may cause ethnic identities to split on the grounds of what an 'overseas Tongan' should be. Like Ward's reference to sub-cultures (chapter three), Va'a predicted a similar tendency for Samoans in Australia, based on the experiences of those in New Zealand and the United States:

Ethnic identity will remain an important aspect of migrant life in Australia but...there will be a further tendency for the formation of different kinds of identities and consequently communities. One section of the community will continue to push for a strong identification with the *fa'a-Samoa*,¹¹¹ another will push for a strong identification with the culture of the host society and yet a third kind of community will try to utilise the best from both *fa'a-Samoa* and host culture...My observations are that ethnicity, as a movement, will splinter not only along the three main lines mentioned above but also along individual lines and that eventually, ethnic sub-groups within the Samoan migrant community will closely resemble other sub-groups and sub-cultures within the host society of which the distinguishing feature will be differentiation... (1995:210).

We have already seen from my survey some areas of contention concerning cultural practices in Canberra. While still early days in Canberra, the seeds of

articulating alternative modes of cultural identity along ethnic lines are already apparent. Like others in the community, the group of ex-'Atenisi students has been grappling with the same issues affecting Tongans in Canberra described above, and has been actively seeking solutions. Their solutions, however, strike at the core of the community and of 'what is Tongan?'. From an interview I conducted with one group member, they consider multiculturalism's emphasis on difference fuels the re-creation of undesirable Tongan traits, such as rank and hierarchy. They see Tongan communities in New Zealand as more "advanced" because they are not held back by referring to old Tongan ways and not realising they are in a new context. Practices such as fundraising, control of the churches over migrants lives and their over-emphasis on "tradition", and not allowing children to find their Tongan ways themselves, have led the group to espouse alternative "codes" by which to live as Tongans overseas. These codes are to emphasise education, humanitarian values, cultural arts and sport.¹¹² They consider that if Tongans combine their energies into these pursuits they will be able to overcome the economic and social drawbacks they inflict upon themselves, through a "blind" and unsustainable adherence to tradition in the new context. Already operating a radio program, the group has drafted a constitution for an ethnic association through which these alternative codes of cultural identity might be pursued.¹¹³ Whether it eventuates remains to be seen. However, the important point is how ruptures in cultural identity can translate into the rhetoric of an ethnic identity, facilitated by state structures.

Conclusion

In the space of thirty years the Tongan community in Canberra has grown from a few pioneering migrants in pursuit of "heaven", into a complex web of linkages, networks and transactions of global proportions. While still tagged with the status of

being a "very small", emerging community, reminiscent of Hau'ofa's laments, the community has nevertheless become the locus of social activity for many Tongan women. The implications of this positioning are great for women. The confluence of attention on migrants upholding their culture by both the Australian state and the Tongan nation has created considerable pressures for women in meeting this responsibility. Less recognition has been given to their socio-economic circumstances. Yet it has also accorded them opportunities to remain in the public sphere of activity and thereby exert some influence over wider community issues. But as we have seen, maintaining Tongan culture overseas and transferring this to children are highly emotive and difficult issues – issues carried by women and shared by men. Resultant questions penetrate the very core of Tongan identity, including 'what is Tongan?' and 'what should a Tongan be overseas?'. How diasporic Tongans respond to these questions on a personal level obviously varies, as we have seen in Canberra. Yet we should not ignore the influences of the environment in which they live, that encourage some responses, ascribe some conditions, and constantly remind us of the "boundaries to our freedom". Such a focus could elsewhere yield surprising local insights into the ongoing processes of negotiation, acceptance and resistance. The following chapter offers one such example in Canberra.

⁷⁶ A member of the Tongan community who was involved in this process notes that the correct date was 11 October 1981.

⁷⁷ However I am aware that the Association has helped longer-term residents in times of need.

⁷⁸ While their application for funding was unsuccessful, the newsletter was produced, although with greater difficulty.

⁷⁹ Although this was not the first time that children had been sent from Canberra to Tonga.

⁸⁰ This is especially interesting to compare to Cowling's (1990b:201) observations of wayward young men in Tonga being offered the opportunity to live overseas to learn responsibility and to reform themselves.

⁸¹ Such fundraising and other representational activities included cooking, selling items and raffle tickets.

⁸² From Kaeppler's (1993) book, *Poetry in Motion: studies of Tongan dance*, *takapale* means "to give prize to" and refers to the custom of presenting gifts to a dancer in admiration and acknowledgment of their dancing skill. Once tapa and mats were presented as gifts, although now more commonly gifts are given in the form of lengths of fabric, or cash tucked into the dancer's costume or stuck to their skin previously smeared with Tongan oil. At fund-raising events, spectators may also place cash in a collection dish if one has been placed in front of dancers.

⁸³ *Liukava* is the name of the Prince and Princess's residence in Tonga. The Canberra community used the same term to refer to their residence in Canberra for the duration of their stay. It was then used to refer to their subsequent residence in Queensland.

⁸⁴ While terms like 'half-Tongan' and 'part-Tongan' are always problematic and not the most desirable way of referring to people, I have used 'half-Tongan' here to complement its usage by Tongans themselves in the census to follow.

⁸⁵ In 1995 the Ethnic Communities' Council of the ACT asked one of the Tongan migrant welfare workers to count the number of Tongans in Canberra and compile a census of their names and addresses. My thanks to Tania Hausia for updating this census for me in January 1998. Note the inclusion of non-Tongans in the community census. This acceptance is also reflected in the Tongan Association's Constitution, of which membership is open to: "Any member of the Tongan community (full Tongan or part Tongan) or members of any other race in Canberra and Queanbeyan who pays membership fees" (Appendix 3, Clause 3(a)).

⁸⁶ The census actually indicates 104 households, but through local knowledge we know that four families co-reside in the same houses as their relatives, and one is an accidental duplicate entry.

⁸⁷ Their survey covered in order of number, Tongan, Cook Islands, Fijian, Samoan and "mixed" households.

⁸⁸ At the beginning of 1994, not long after I began conducting fieldwork in Canberra, I was invited by a Tongan woman to attend the picnic carnival I referred to earlier. "The whole community will be there", she said. I could not believe my good fortune that I would be able to meet nearly all of the Canberra Tongans at once. At the time, I understood that around 300 Tongans lived in the ACT, including children. When the day arrived I was surprised that there were only 40 or so Tongan people there. Eventually I naively asked where everyone was, if this was the whole community. "Oh no", I was corrected, "this is the Tongan Catholic community!" From that day onwards I was struck by the word, 'community', and how often it was used both formally and informally by the Tongans themselves, the wider Australian population, and the state, to identify and group people as migrants. In particular, how some Tongans distinguished between not having a Tongan community back in the 1970s, but that there is a Tongan community now. My interest deepened when a scholar from another University once remarked to me that my focus on the small population of Tongans in Canberra would provide an ideal form of community study, as it is bounded by its regional location away from the bigger cities of Sydney and Melbourne.

⁸⁹ See Wild (1981:17), for example, who cited an exercise by Hillery in 1955 in which he found 70 out of 94 different definitions of the term 'community' contained the elements of territory, social interaction and common ties, but the only factor common to all 94 definitions was people. Wild also provides a useful account of some earlier debates around the term 'community'.

⁹⁰ Neuwirth described her interpretation of Weber's approach to community, in which the competition for economic, political or social interests is the source of community formation and communal (or social) relationships. She said Weber considered 'ethnic honour' - or the belief in the superiority of one's own customs and the inferiority of those of others - as common to all ethnic communities (with which she disagreed in relation to the American "Dark Ghetto") (1969:154-155). Wild, on the other hand, considered Weber's concept of 'charismatic domination', in which he recognised that assumed change from traditional to rational was regularly interrupted by irrational forces such as a charismatic leader. Understanding this kind of domination, Wild said, as well as others, is important to developing a concept of community (1981:42-43).

⁹¹ I was told that Tongans of other cities in Australia also share the view that Tongans living in the capital city of Australia have a higher status. They express this in their greater expectations of Canberra Tongans, that they will do things properly or act more appropriately on formal occasions. Sometimes this is articulated through teasing or sharp comments.

⁹² However fundraising may also be seen as serving other purposes, such as publicly reaffirming one's Tonganness in support of Tongan activities (cf. Cowling, 1990a), and as a kind of social insurance where someone will always be there to help you if you suffer hardships later.

⁹³ In brief, Tongamoa described a *koniseti* (or concert) as an event in which each participating family or individual performs a *tau'olunga* during which contributions are made through *fakapale*. The family may set aside a certain amount to be donated, but this may increase as other family members or friends donate during their *tau'olunga*. Some people may choose not to perform a *tau'olunga* and give their donation directly to the 'teller' who acknowledges their donation. At a *kalapu*, the sponsoring group or person gathers cash through the indirect selling of kava. Groups of eight or more men are formed who share the kava served by a *tou'a* (usually a young lady), whose presence encourages them to drink more and therefore buy more kava. Sometimes there are prizes for the group that raises the most money, thereby increasing competition between groups. A *hulohula* is a disco dancing night in which cash is pooled through an admission fee (1987:137-140). Mostly popular with the young, Tongamoa noted that "this form of fund-raising stems from western influences on the social activities of Tongans" (1987:140).

⁹⁴ I often found interesting the emphasis on donating paper money on these occasions - such as whether it was due to the showmanship of the donation, the ease of placing notes on the dancer's body, or simply that only notes would provide an acceptable amount for donation. While coins are said to be acceptable as donations, I found that not many people used coins as they were not really considered appropriate to the amount expected in a donation.

⁹⁵ See Marcus who suggested that the relative unimportance of village and community organisation in Tonga as compared to (Western) Samoa possibly explains its relative unimportance amongst Tongans overseas as compared to Samoans overseas (1981:57). Cf. Va'a (1995) on new community forms through Associations for Samoans in Sydney.

⁹⁶ Marcus explained his preference for the term "concentration" to "community" when referring to overseas Tongans. He observed Tongans to be more dispersed and isolated from each other than Samoans, apart from church linkages, for example. He also offered that Tongans as migrants were more "culturally self-sufficient abroad" (1981:56-57). Geddes, on the other hand, referred to a New Zealand Government report which depicted Tongans as most suffering "homesickness", "loneliness", and "language difficulties". Tongans, he said, remained much more independent of each other than Samoans. This lack of support network gave Tongans a less secure base for life overseas, possibly resulting in their strong linkages with those in Tonga (1988:85-86).

⁹⁷ See for example, Rogers (1977), Gailey (1980, 1987), James (1983, 1988a, 1995), Tongamoa (1988), Taumoeolau (1991), Helu (1992).

⁹⁸ James, (citing Rogers, 1977), explained *fahu* as meaning 'above the law' in terms of the ritual superiority given to the *fahu* within the extended family on special occasions. She said the position is most commonly accorded the father's sister, the father's sister's child, or the sister's child. Almost always the *fahu* is a woman. James explained that the *fahu* is still honoured in Tonga with gifts and given importance on ceremonial occasions, but that it must be considered in the context of gender relations in Tonga being diverse, complex and in flux (1983:236).

⁹⁹ See Morton (1996:132) for a further explanation of the character of this relationship.

¹⁰⁰ Note Morton's point on the conflict between the Tongan cultural values of obedience, conformity and respect, with Western education's encouragement of critical thought, questioning and independent expression (1996:146).

¹⁰¹ The same woman once relayed to me the amusing story of her wedding, which was planned as a conventional 'Australian' wedding consisting of the marriage service followed by an evening reception for around 100 people at a club. Everything was unfolding according to plan, when suddenly 200 Tongans from Melbourne arrived at the reception with their own boxes of 'KFC' take-away chicken, a string band, dancers, mats and *ngatu*, in order to celebrate the occasion the Tongan way.

¹⁰² Morton explained the association of violence with humour in the discipline of children in Tonga. One possibility is that that laughter may help to ease the tension of the situation or help the person being beaten. Alternatively, the laughter could be directed at the person suffering. Morton suggested that both the behaviour causing punishment and the act of punishment are seen as foolish, and therefore humorous. Morton also noted, however, that when a beating is severe onlookers rarely laugh (1996:201-203) (See also Kavapalu, 1993:321-322).

¹⁰³ Please note that these statistics were kindly provided by the Domestic Violence Crisis Service while strictly observing the confidentiality and privacy of all of their clients. No names or details of incidents were disclosed by the Service, only the statistics provided here.

¹⁰⁴ I attended a kava group on a few occasions where some men explained to me that participation in *faikava* instils a sense of discipline and ritual into those men who previously drank too much alcohol. Men who have consumed alcohol are not allowed to participate in the group as the sharing of kava is a ritual to be respected.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Morton (1998a:165) on the Tongan royals being both living symbols of tradition, yet also the most Westernised of all Tongans.

¹⁰⁶ Castles et.al. claimed the 'culture' in multiculturalism as essentially "spaghetti and polka" renders multiculturalism as neither a serious area of social reform policy, nor an intellectually worthwhile focus of study (1988:121).

¹⁰⁷ However, in my fieldwork notes of 1995 I observed that younger Tongans appeared far more comfortable when dancing in the community settings of barbeques, birthdays, picnics and fundraisers, than they did at the multicultural Ethnic Schools Day.

¹⁰⁸ EMAG was established in Sydney in the mid-1980s with the aim to improve access to government and non-government services and resources for new and emerging communities (Belfrage, 1995:17).

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, unlike what I have described for Tongan Association in Canberra, Va'a said there was little that the Samoan Advisory Council could contribute "in the culture area" as cultural practice was dominated by the extended families, church congregations and *fa'alavelave* (urgent problem) networks (1995:205).

¹¹⁰ Consider also the current debate in recent issues of the *Tonga Herald* newspaper, which arose from a 1997 Uniting Church conference in Sydney, on whether Tongans should continue to follow the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, or follow the Uniting Church's Constitution in Australia. Some Tonga Parish members argue for the former, while other Uniting Church members are arguing for the latter. See Siosuia Lafitani's forthcoming PhD thesis and papers for a further treatment of this issue.

¹¹¹ *fa'a-Samoa* (the Samoan way), cf. *anga fakatonga* (the Tongan way).

¹¹² Siosuia Lafitani (personal communication, 1997). For further details on this development consult Lafitani's forthcoming PhD thesis and papers.

¹¹³ The former Director of the 'Atenisi Institute in Tonga, Futa Helu, described the Institute's emphasis in all departments of culture on "objectivity against subjectivism, the issue versus purpose, and truth versus satisfaction". With reference to the classical program operating in the Institute, Professor Helu said, "Not only shall we refuse to take a subordinate place in the scheme of things, but we shall try to propagate our view beyond the boundaries of our society" (1988:26).

CHAPTER SIX

HERE, WE GO 'ROUND THE MULBERRY BUSH: GENDER AND CULTURE IN THE TONGAN DIASPORA

Piecing together, glueing, stencilling and dyeing a woman's *feta'aki* (pieces of beaten bast) to the length of *ngatu* she requires, is called the *koka'anga* and is done by several women who get together in a communal tapa house or in one of the group's home for the purpose. (James, 1988b:19)

Redefining *Ngatu* in Australia: the *Koka'anga* in Canberra

In October 1997 a group of twenty Tongan women gathered in the back yard of one woman's Canberra home to hold a *koka'anga* (gathering to make *ngatu*).¹¹⁴ The event was organised through the City Uniting church congregation by women who had contact with the Sydney-based inventors of the process. All interested women were welcome to participate in this event, which was the first production in Canberra (and third in Australia) of what was later dubbed '*ngatu pālangi*'.¹¹⁵ This name was given to the product to distinguish it from '*ngatu Tonga*' in everyday conversation. The event spanned one week's duration, during which the women produced four *ngatu* of fifty sections (*launima*) in length (*langanga*), using a range of patterns (*kupesi*) including a newly designed royal pattern which was pressed on *ngatu* for the first time. Three of the *ngatu* were for the Prince, the Princess, and their eldest son, while the other was for the woman who hosted the event in her home. In addition, they made twenty smaller lengths of *ngatu* of ten sections (*fuatanga*) for each of the women to keep; and a further six or so pieces of *ngatu* for presentation to other identified people.

The impetus for the event was the upcoming occasion of the Prince's graduation. The women wanted to mark the occasion by presenting him with *ngatu* that they made themselves in Canberra. The opportunity to do so was made possible by the women in Sydney who invented the *ngatu pālāngi* process ('Amalani (Lani) Metuisela Williams and her mother). These women supplied the materials and their specially-designed table to the women in Canberra, who proceeded under the tutelage of the inventor herself. The Sydney women purchased the materials from their private funds in anticipation of receiving another funding grant.¹¹⁶ Upon hearing about the idea, Her Royal Highness kindly offered that the women could use the newly designed royal *kupesi* that was made in Sydney specifically for the occasion.

A few weeks after the event, the Tongan Arts and Craft group, as they called themselves, arranged a display of their *ngatu* for the Princess at a club in Canberra. Also in attendance were the other invited guests, some of whom received gifts of *ngatu pālāngi* for various reasons.¹¹⁷ The following pages present a photo-essay of these events. Commentary from the women involved, my field notes, and extracts from literature sources, accompany each photograph. Following the photo-essay I will consider some of the points emerging from the events concerning: gender and culture, nation and state, and the representation and voice of diasporic Tongan women in Canberra.



Photo 1

"In the south Pacific island kingdom of Tonga, every important occasion in life is marked by the use of *ngatu*, known in English as *tapa* or barkcloth. The ringing sounds of *tapa* being beaten are heard daily except in times of mourning throughout the southern island of Tongatapu and the northern islands of Vava'u." - (Arbeit, 1994:1)

"In Tonga the women beat the tapa for a year. Here we don't need to beat our material, we just go out and buy it!"
-Tongan observer

Photo 2

"If only the man who made house-paint knew what we did with it!" - Participant





Photo 3

"When women in Tonga make tapa they dress brightly with flowers in their hair and sing while they work." - Participant



Photo 4

We are making ngatu to celebrate the Prince's graduation for his Masters degree
- Participant



Photo 5

"We stayed up late last night to cook food and sew the pattern." - Participant

Patterns are made from a range of resources, such as cloth and electrical cables sewn onto a hessian-type material to produce a raised design. - Field notes, October 1997



Photo 6

Disarray on day 1. It took a number of hours on for the women to learn the technique of making *ngatu pālangi*. The table arrived late. People were not sure how to put the table together. Once together, no one really knew how to begin, how to un-roll the fabric or place it correctly on the table. Lani's mother came from Sydney to teach them. Much discussion on how it should be done and quiet grumblings over who should be giving instructions. Frowns on faces, heavy concentration, slow progress. - Field notes, October 1997



Photo 7

Paste is made from flour and water to hold the calico and interfacing materials together.
- Field notes, October 1997



Photo 8

"This group of women is not an association or a committee or kautaha as in Tongan...but women who were interested and want to come together to learn how to do these beautiful Tongan arts. Most of us have lived here all our lives and don't have the chance to learn this art. Some of us have never done it even though we grew up in Tonga. When this opportunity came up...then we were excited about it."
- Participant and spokesperson

"I never learnt how to do this in Tonga, and neither did my mother." - Participant



Photo 9

On day 2 the women arrived earlier. Some had slept over anyway. By the second hour both production and fun had increased. Impromptu singing, dancing the *macarena* to music playing in the background, smiling faces, and outbursts of laughter as the women teased each other. Drinking 'otai (Tongan fruit punch) that they shared with the little dog who did not want it. - Field notes, October 1997

"He must be a pālāngi dog, not a Tongan dog. He does not like 'otai." - Participant

Photo 10

Excitement grew as the first unpainted *ngatu* was laid out in the sun to dry. - Field notes, October 1997





Photo 11

"I just found out I will not get paid for the last two days from work because I was here instead."

- Participant

Photo 12

"The Princess said how good it was to hear that a young person wants to learn the Tongan art."
Older participant to younger participant, November 1997

"We escape Tonga so we don't have to do this, but then here it's worse. Tongan is the only nationality, of all nationalities in Australia, that is crazy. Everything you do is for someone else. We spend hours to make ngatu to give it to the Princess ... all for one second. All to be seen to do it." - Participant





Photo 13

Paint brushes purchased from a store are used to paint straight lines on the design and to mark its lengths. - Field notes, October 1997

Photo 14

A half-painted *ngatu* on display.

By the end of the week women complained of sore backs, aching legs and feet, and lack of sleep. This was before they had commenced painting the printed cloth.
- Field notes, October 1997

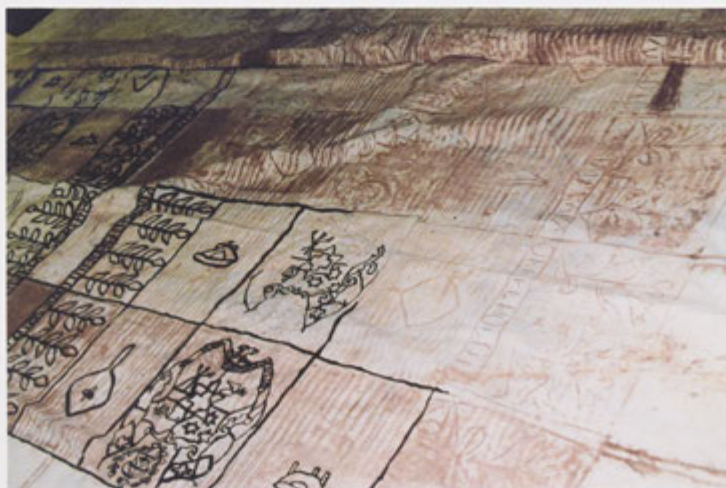




Photo 15

HRH Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho is shown the display of *ngatu pālāngi* by the original inventor of the process. The owner of the piece in front of them explained, "I saw the three dots on one piece of *ngatu* that I had at home, so I decided to paint them on this one." - Field notes, November 1997

"A *ngatu* is not considered complete without the addition of three dots as decoration (*fo'ihea* or *tukihea*). The group of three balls is recent; older *ngatu* have just one dot, the size of the base of a bottle." - (James, 1988b:22)

Photo 16

Your Highness, one of our gifts today is to Mr (name withheld by author) from the Chief Minister's office to thank them and show them what we do with money, in case we need their help one day. - Participant and spokesperson, November 1997



Photos 17 and 18

"Personally speaking I have learned now from the experience we've gone through, to appreciate the value of the ngatu and how much Tongan people went through to produce this lovely traditional art. So here in Australia we are trying to use some of the Australian material to see if we can still retain and preserve our art whom we love."

- Participant and spokesperson,
November 1997

Ngatu is traditionally made from the inner bark of the mulberry tree. Here today is the way of the future of *ngatu*-making as the raw materials are now more difficult to come by. You can see the democratisation of designs as commoners borrow royal motifs. Also the Australian influences in our designs, such as boomerangs, Parliament House, and the use of the Opera House by Tongans of Sydney.

- Participant and spokesperson,
November 1997





Photo 19

Ngatu-pālāngi is used for clothing as well. - Participant

"Next time we are still pursuing some ways about making ngatu so we could be able to relay to the Tongans back home some easier way into doing this hard, time consuming, expensive piece of art."

- Participant and spokesperson, November 1997

*"In Tonga *tapa*'s main function is to be a constantly circulating gift that binds the community as it moves from wedding, to funeral, to sick bed, to birthday feast; and as it moves from past, to present, to future."* - (Arbeit, 1994:18)

Gender and Culture: Women's Products in Canberra

The importance of *ngatu*, fine mats and other items considered to be *koloa* (treasure, valuables, wealth) has long been recognised in their role of maintaining Tongan cultural identity.¹¹⁸ Cowling wrote that *ngatu* and mats produced for both ceremonial and daily uses are regarded by Tongans as important in maintaining tradition, however it is their symbolic value that is most important. She explained, "A person wearing *ngatu* at a ceremony is wrapped in history" (1990a:264). *Ngatu* and other items of *koloa* mark life crises and other events. Their giving, consistent with the 'eiki/tu'a distinction, is always upwards. For example, *ngatu* and mats are given by a bride's family to her husband's after their marriage; *ngatu* and other items of *koloa* are exchanged between parents' families after the birth of a child;¹¹⁹ and *ngatu* is presented to the church minister who baptises a child (Cowling, 1990a:263, 275, 276). However, Cowling explained that it is during funerals that *koloa* assumes greatest importance. Here, amidst a complex series of presentations and exchanges, visiting mourners provide *ngatu* and cloth. In the case of a deceased husband, the giving of *koloa* by the deceased's family to the wife represents a "return" of the gifts given by her family to them upon her marriage (1990a:278). From her detailed discussion of the production, exchange and significance of *ngatu* and fine mats in Tonga, Cowling concluded that: "Having *koloa* affirms the identity and status of a family and *kāinga*. It is also an affirmation of the value of Tongan-ness, the quality and experience of being Tongan" (1990a:286).

Not dismissing the important roles men play in rituals and kinship maintenance that complement those of women¹²⁰ it is women, primarily as wives and mothers, who are responsible for ensuring their family has sufficient stocks of *koloa*. James said that it is still mandatory for married Tongan women to have sufficient *koloa* to meet life crisis events. To be caught without it at such a time is "deeply shaming for women"

(1987:40). As sisters, women control the exchange of *koloa* and food during life crisis events (Morton, 1996:139-140). Morton stated that the production of *koloa* was one important aspect in maintaining a greater continuity of women's roles, in comparison to the continuity of men's roles (1996:109). She described the clear differentiation between "female" and "male" tasks in Tonga. However, like Cowling (1994:6), she noted that, today, women's productive activities can include both the "female" tasks of "producing bark-cloth, baskets, woven mats, and certain other products such as scented coconut oil and collecting reef foods", and the "male" tasks of "agriculture and animal husbandry" (1996:139-140).

In Australia as elsewhere, women still bear the responsibility for ensuring sufficient stocks of *koloa* are maintained by their families. Yet international emigration coupled with other factors has no doubt affected the production and stockpiling of mats and *ngatu* in Tonga, not only of those items considered *koloa*, but those for ordinary use as well. The migration of men and women from Tonga and increasing overseas need for these items create obvious supply and demand pressures (see Small, 1997:174). In addition, there are occasions when women in Tonga have to sell items to raise money for a specific purpose (such as school fees), or when items simply need replacing through natural disintegration. Moreover, as Small described, the developments over the past century have altered the *tapa*-making process, resulting from the shifting relationships of chiefs to commoners and commoners to each other (1997:32-35) (see also Gailey, 1980, 1987; James, 1987; and Helu, 1992 for other discussions of these processes).¹²¹

More recently, perhaps the greatest effect on *ngatu* production in Tonga has been women's access to raw materials. Increasingly, difficulties for families in accessing land, the use of land for cash-cropping and the depletion of essential trees, have made it difficult for women to obtain raw materials. James said the raw material of

barkcloth, *hiapo* (paper mulberry), is no longer being planted in Tongatapu because men believe it makes the land "bitter" (1993b:230). *Koka* (red cedar) which provides the dye for decorating *tapa* is disappearing through the widespread clearing of land for tillage. Mangroves are also disappearing because the species, *tongo*, is being used as an alternate source of dye to *koka* (James, 1993b:230). While the shortage of raw materials is a problem in Tonga, this is exacerbated for women overseas who cannot easily access the finished products.¹²²

Women overseas have responded to the challenge of maintaining stocks of *ngatu* and mats in numerous ways. Firstly, they have arranged exchanges with women in Tonga of Western household goods for *ngatu*, mats and other items from Tonga (see Tongamoa, 1987; Cowling, 1990a; and Small on Tongan-American exchanges, 1995:244-246; 1997:72).¹²³ In Canberra, during 1995 four women collected sheets, pots and pans, other household goods for an exchange with women in Tonga. Prior to the exchange they planned to display their wares at a Canberra club, celebrating with the string band, dancing and food. But this did not eventuate, and neither did the exchange. Some women have attempted to group together to arrange similar exchanges, but cite reasons of being too busy with work, being overloaded with family responsibilities, and eventually losing interest as reasons for not continuing.

Instead, a more common way of obtaining stocks in Canberra is to rely upon family in Tonga to provide them as needed. As Meleane reminded us earlier, some women feel that it is wrong to ask them, explaining that "People in Tonga have lost things to Australia. Tongan custom is going to Australia, so the best mats should be left in Tonga." Yet my survey indicated that 80% of respondents acquire their stocks from relatives in Tonga (see question 7.4 and 7.5). In return, 23% give money, although this should be seen as a form of 'thanks' rather than a direct payment; or a "love gift" (Small, 1995). 23% give money, food or clothing; and 36% do not give

anything in return. Of those who give nothing in return, for many it was because they do not directly ask for the items. Instead their relatives provide them with stocks automatically, such as when they visit. This seemed to be more the case for earlier rather than later migrants. Only one of my respondents purchased *ngatu* directly from non-relatives in Tonga as recorded elsewhere for overseas migrants (see James, 1987:40; and Small, 1997:139).

Thirdly, another way of stockpiling *ngatu* is to alter the *ngatu* itself. Changes to *ngatu* are not new,¹²⁴ as designs and motifs on *ngatu* have changed over the years (see also the photo-essay). From the shortages of raw materials we can now see the results of new efforts to expand the production of *ngatu* in Tonga. An example is a hybrid version of *ngatu* that consists of a layer of *tapa* on top and a layer of Western interfacing materials beneath, instead of the traditional two layers of *tapa*. As women in Tonga explained to me, their deployment of interfacing extends the use-value of *ngatu* as on the surface it is still made of *tapa*. When women on Tongatapu showed me a sample of this in July 1998 they facetiously said, "we call it *half-caste ngatu*".¹²⁵ Small has emphasised how this (unnamed) development saves time and material, and enables women to "produce double the cloth" to meet ever-growing local and international demands (1997:174). Small described the underside layer she observed as:

...a manufactured white sheet imported from New Zealand which has the texture and dye-holding quality similar to that of beaten mulberry, and which might be used otherwise for a good napkin or the facing material in clothing (1997:174).

This innovation of using fabric on the bottom layer of *ngatu* is generally accepted because the top layer remains unchanged.

The possibilities created by changing the composition of *ngatu* itself have been further realised through the innovation of *ngatu pālangi* by Tongan women in Australia. The major difference with *ngatu pālangi*, however, is that instead of the use-

value of *tapa* being *extended*, here it has been entirely *replaced*. *Ngatu* is produced over three stages, that is: the *tutu* (beating the smooth inner white layer of bast from *hiapo*, or paper mulberry trees); holding a *koka'anga*; and then painting the *tapa* cloth. As depicted in the photo-essay, *ngatu pālangi* consists of a layer of interfacing material beneath a top layer of calico fabric. In its production, *tapa* is not the only resource that has been replaced. The dyes of *koka* and *tongo* are by-passed for the pigments of house-paint. The glues of Polynesian arrowroot or *mahoa'a* (James, 1988b:19) are replaced by flour and water, and the half-cylinder wooden *papa koka'anga* is replaced by a tall flat wooden table erected on a concrete floor in a pergola (hence the sore backs and aching legs).

Yet these more radical innovations should not be seen as entirely those of overseas women. In Tonga I was shown yet another version of *ngatu*, called "*ngatu paper*", which a group of women produced on one occasion in anticipation of selling it to Tongans overseas. *Ngatu paper* consists of two layers of interfacing material glued together, which are stencilled and painted in the same fashion as *ngatu Tonga*. Its name was derived from its feel and appearance being remarkably similar to paper. *Ngatu paper* has also been produced in Sydney, however with the use of the replacement pigments described above. Only a few women in Canberra have seen *ngatu paper* before.

These moves to produce *ngatu* without *tapa* effectively remove the whole first stage of producing *ngatu*, as women simply "go out and buy" their fabric. The significance of this first stage (*tutu*) was documented by Teilhet-Fisk. Her description of an American man's ultimately unsuccessful attempt to introduce a *tapa* beating machine to automate (not remove) the first 'beating' stage of making *tapa*, led to her conclusions of deeper significance concerning gender and culture (Teilhet-Fisk, 1991).¹²⁶ Teilhet-Fisk contrasted the silence of his machine to the resonant beating of

the *tutu* process, suggesting that its deployment would have removed "the heartbeat of Tonga" (1988:60). Apart from this, she suggested that removing beating from the first stage of the process would have effectively eliminated an "instrument of acculturation" in marking a person's higher status, as beating is a task that lacks prestige and social status. She concluded, "the process is still tied to gender conventions and subject to social control", noting the cultural, symbolic and ritualised elements it had embedded. She also concluded that women enforce the gender division of labour in the production of *tapa*, as women do not welcome changes introduced by men (1991:59-61).

Teilhet-Fisk's article and the more recent developments in *ngatu* production I have described here, highlight the interplay of gender and culture in changes to *ngatu*. They also raise a number of questions: can changes to women's goods only be introduced by women, and only by Tongan women as 'insiders'? Are women able to remove the *tutu* process because they are living overseas or producing it for women overseas, thereby escaping the social control noted by Teilhet-Fisk? Further, did the removal of the *tutu* process in Canberra enable temporary democratization, where women of chiefly and non-chiefly status could work together through the entire production of *ngatu*, without status issues emerging as in the beating of *tapa* in Tonga?¹²⁷ (See James, 1987:35 on chiefly women controlling *kupesi* but not hard toil)

For all of the problems it solves, not all Tongan women have readily accepted *ngatu pālāngi*. While immensely proud of their achievements, some Canberra women later reflected that it would take time for *ngatu pālāngi* to be fully accepted by Tongan women. One woman explained to me:

Its like when you go to a shop and buy expensive clothes in David Jones and then you buy in Clints.¹²⁸ It's like that in Tonga - there it will take time for the people. If we have a wedding or a funeral we don't bring that one to use. But they use it for kids, they cut a little piece for a birthday or something like that, they fold it and put the present on top to give.

Another woman explained the secondary importance of *ngatu pālāngi*. She said that in Canberra women would give it only when it is not their *kavenga* (obligation) to give. *Ngatu pālāngi* is only used for clothing, decoration, or as a supplementary gift. She explained that although they are proud of it, it is "not like the real thing. It will be accepted more over time." Yet another woman explained how, "women have a fear of exchanging something that belongs to them with something foreign – *ngatu Tonga* belongs to them."

What we can see is the growing scarcity of *ngatu Tonga* in Canberra, coupled with the integration of new hybrids of *ngatu*, producing a new value-system of *ngatu* amongst women in Canberra.¹²⁹ A recently arrived Tongan woman described her personal adjustment to this system when she was invited to a birthday party. As she gathered a length of *ngatu Tonga* to take to the party, she was surprised when her Canberra relatives told her not to take it. They explained that on this occasion it would be more appropriate to purchase a gift. Uncomfortable at this suggestion, the woman wondered why she should purchase a gift when the *ngatu* she already had was free and a more appropriate gift. She then learned that *ngatu* is very difficult to acquire in Australia (compared to money), and for that reason she had to be more careful when assessing the value of an occasion and to whom you were giving *ngatu*. She will now save her *ngatu Tonga* for close family occasions, or for when she cannot give an alternative gift. Differentiating between values of *ngatu* and mats, and the relative significance of occasions, is not new.¹³⁰ However, migration has compelled the decision of whether or not to give *ngatu*, what kind of *ngatu* to give, and whether to give *ngatu pālāngi* with a purchased gift, such as at birthdays.

In Canberra, *ngatu Tonga* has the highest value, followed by *half-caste ngatu*, then *ngatu pālāngi*. *Ngatu paper* has not yet entered the system in Canberra. The women I met who produced it in Tonga ceased production because it was "fake", and they did

not consider it would fetch a high price on the overseas market. Those who had samples either discarded them or kept them for making school children's dancing costumes. A differentiation in the value-system of *ngatu* is also emerging between women in Tonga and Tongan women in Australia where women in Tonga do not seem at all impressed with the new hybrids, while Tongan women in Canberra exclaim "But it's all we've got" and "It's ours, we made it".

This question of value reminds me of Gailey's earlier arguments about the historical devaluing and commoditisation of women's goods through the influences of capitalism and the introduction of Christianity in Tonga, and subsequent relegation of *ngatu* and mats to art markets (1980, 1987). However, I see the question of value quite differently. In her systematic rebuttal of Gailey's assertions, James (1988a) reminded us that the value of *koloa* continues to be embedded in the social relations of the givers and receivers of presentations.¹³¹ James rebuked Gailey's (1987:69) argument that the introduction of cotton cloth devalued *tapa*, because the *tapa* previously used for clothing was not *koloa*. Moreover, she suggested that the introduction of cotton cloth might have been positive in releasing women from the labour of *tapa* production to attend school, for example (1988a:39). Alternatively, I suggest that for *ngatu* in the Nineties "cotton cloth" (or more broadly, Western fabric) has now become one of the Western items which Tongan women have made Tongan. Ironically, this very Western item which Gailey depicted as threatening women's goods, has actually enabled women to keep *ngatu* alive and accessible for others overseas. Gailey's interpretation dismisses the complexities of change and acculturation evident in the gendering of changes to *ngatu* as described by Teilhet-Fisk, and the resultant value-systems being *developed* by women rather than *imposed* upon them. It also precludes the possibility of differentiation across the Tongan nation between women in Australia and Tonga on how valuable they consider their innovations to be. The question still

remains, however, whether the union of Western and Tongan cloth in *half-caste ngatu*, and the 'Tonganisation' of Western cloth in *ngatu pālāngi* and *ngatu paper*, de-values or re-values *ngatu*?

Small (1997) made the pertinent point that Tongans' adherence to traditionalism is changing tradition itself, such as the need for *ngatu* effecting changes to *ngatu*. So too in Canberra we can recognise that the *koka'anga* was a conscious strategy on the part of the women to maintain culture in migration, and *ngatu pālāngi* was the result of their adherence to traditionalism. But what we also need to recognise is their ongoing process of negotiation, acceptance and resistance to the new forms of *ngatu*. Here the *pālāngi*/Tongan opposition re-surfaces, most obviously in their naming of the items, in their *ngatu* value-system, and in their use of Western products to be more Tongan. As for Tongan cloth, Western cloth can embody a Tongan identity and possess the symbolic properties of "cloth" in Oceanic societies, as fragile, soft and binding (see Weiner, 1989). But the Tongan products of Western cloth are only partly accepted as being Tongan: they are *ngatu pālāngi* not *ngatu Tonga*, "fake" not "real", and "white" not "Tongan". While readily accepting the use of calico and pigments in making *ngatu-pālāngi*, of holding a *koka'anga* in the suburbs, and of reinforcing the importance of both having and producing *ngatu* overseas, there still exists for women an ambivalent attitude in accepting *ngatu pālāngi* as *koloa*. At this early point in time I consider that to the women of Canberra, *ngatu pālāngi* has simultaneously raised and lowered the value of their goods. By introducing *ngatu* of lower value, the value of the Tongan *ngatu* has become even higher.



Ngatu Tonga (front) and ngatu pālangi (back) used together with mats to surround the Royal table at a 21st birthday in Canberra, 1997.



Half-caste ngatu photographed in Tonga in 1998. As folded here the top and bottom tiers show the side made of tapa, while the middle tier shows the backing material made of interfacing.

Ngatu paper photographed in Tonga in 1998.



Influences of Nation and State

Beyond the need in Australia to maintain stocks of *ngatu*, however defined, why did the women put themselves through this exacting week of work? Are the women “crazy” for continuing in Australia the work they escaped from by leaving Tonga? I think not. Rather, I observed that the women derived as much, if not more benefit from the *koka’anga* as they did from its final products. For them, the process of producing *ngatu* not only provided a reaffirmation of being *Tongan* which *koloa* accords, but of being *Tongan women* in producing the *koloa* (notwithstanding the negotiations over *ngatu pālāngi* as *koloa*). In the sense of an imagined community or Tongan nation, these women had a chance to make *ngatu* themselves rather than having to buy it, ask for it from relatives, or having to acquire other goods for later exchange. For many, it was a chance to reminisce about “home” and to bond with the (imagined) hundreds of other women in Tonga who, at the same time, would be “piecing together, glueing, stencilling and dyeing” their *ngatu*.¹³² They wore flowers in their hair and around their necks “as women in Tonga do”, and sang songs of happiness as they fulfilled what it is to be a ‘Tongan woman’. Amongst the group a sense of habitus was shared as they did what seemed natural to them as Tongan women.

Yet the harsh realities of living in another state emerged, as daily life in Canberra punctuated this elevated sense of cultural identity. Some women had to leave early to collect school-age children; others had to prepare dinner for weary husbands and family members arriving home from work; another secretly worried about returning to work after being absent for a couple of days to join the *koka’anga*. There emerged the contrasts between life in Tonga and Australia. One woman explained to me that in Tonga, women have more support structures to enable them to make *ngatu*, such as an extended family to mind children. She said that in Tonga, everything is set aside for a

week while women make *ngatu*. They can all begin at 7.00am each day without the delays caused by everyday demands.¹³³

What this highlights is that while the state through multiculturalism can facilitate the preservation of culture, economic and social realities make it difficult for Tongan women to 'live' their culture overseas. Absent are the environmental conditions that made cultural practices possible, or even necessary, in their former homeland. This is one of the issues that multiculturalism's focus on the cultural terrain and ethnicity does not address. Culture is not transportable as a complete package carried by migrants who then 'unpack' it within their ethnic communities, as popular images suggest. Other processes and factors are required to make possible the 'living' of one's culture. In the case of *ngatu* these factors include the extended family and subsistence support, time, raw materials, and recognition of the importance of the task *beyond* the ethnic group and state delineations. Where this is not possible, some cultural practices are abandoned or modified, rather than "lost". Women are not "lost" in living between two cultures as we are sometimes led to believe in the literature. Rather culture lives through people and people play an active role in responding to changes, far beyond contemporary state and national boundaries. As Mafi explained, "I see both ways – the Australian way and the Tongan way - so I do what I think is worth preserving."

Yet this assumes that women overseas share a similar understanding of what their culture is. For many women the *koka'anga* highlighted what they *did not* know about *ngatu* and other aspects of Tongan culture. As the photo-essay suggests, many women said that they had not been part of a *koka'anga* before. Moreover in everyday conversation during the *koka'anga* other gaps in knowledge of cultural practices emerged. One woman described to me how uncomfortable she felt in not knowing what to say or how to act in front of the Princess, for example, or even how to

appropriately address royalty. While acknowledging that the Princess was very understanding of the fact that she no longer lives in Tonga, this woman nevertheless felt she should know more about Tongan mores. On a separate occasion, a young married woman told me how little she felt she knew about the relative values of mats and *ngatu*, and which trees are used to produce them. When she was first married she thought that the most valuable mats were the most colourful, such as the one covering her living-room floor. While she grew up in Tonga, everything she learned about *koloa* was from other women in Canberra. In Tonga she was young and unmarried with little interest in learning about *ngatu* and mats (like Tupou). But in Canberra as a wife and mother, she has had to learn very quickly to fulfil one of her expected roles as a Tongan wife.

Morton noted: "As they grow up, young girls are constantly surrounded by this female role and evidence of its significance" (1996:109). Yet for some women who migrate prior to marriage (60% of women survey respondents in Canberra) they fully appreciate the need for having these items, but do not always fully understand how to produce or exchange them. As a result, a member of the royal family once commented generally to me on the inappropriateness of types and quantities of items they had witnessed being presented by Tongans overseas (although this could also be seen as a criticism of *fie ma'olunga* – getting above themselves (Cowling, 1994:18)). The thirst some women have to learn more about their culture was evident in their enthusiasm to read my reference materials on *ngatu* and mats, and to examine the *ngatu paper* I brought back from Tonga this year.

Yet despite their uncertainty over aspects of cultural practice, the possibility of withholding *koloa* is unthinkable to women overseas. A notable example was the funeral in Canberra of a Tongan woman's close relative. This woman, who does not participate in community activities, requested all Tongans attending the funeral "not

to bring Tongan things". I was told that those who gave *ngatu* were given it back, much to the incredulity and confusion of two of the women I know who attended. "We did not know what to do", "*Fie pālangi*" (acting like a *pālangi*) they said, in their attempt to understand this experience.

Viewing *ngatu* as goods circulating across the Tongan nation through exchanges once again highlights the tenuous link between gender, migration and the assumption of permanence. Weiner described the use of cloth as a medium for expressing the contradictory yearnings of all social groups for circulation and permanence (Schneider and Weiner, 1989:6). Just as the assumption of the presence of women in migration (such as through marriage) is an attempt to indicate the permanence of a move, Weiner depicted the use of cloth produced by women as an attempt to give permanence to social and political relationships in a world of constant change (Weiner, 1989:64). In this sense, we could interpret the circulation of women's cloth as permanently binding Tongans across the nation, while the presence of women overseas ensures the permanence of the Tongan nation across many states. Yet, unlike migration studies, Weiner explained the complexities of these processes in relation to gender and power, thereby reminding us that the reason cloth is an apt medium for expressing the paradox of permanence in an impermanent world is because of its inherent fragility (Schneider and Weiner, 1989:6). In other words, unlike migration studies that assume fixity and permanence through the presence of women, Weiner has acknowledged the evanescent aspects of social systems (such as through women's marriage, death and destruction) in which permanence is constantly challenged.

Representation and Voice

Representation

On women in the Pacific Islands a decade ago, Tongamoa wrote:

In politics women are reluctant to involve themselves and therefore they are rarely seen or heard....Traditionally, decision-making is a man's role and women who cross the boundary are criticised and often lack the support from the community" (1988:91).

Others have written about the historical and traditional roles of Tongan (and other Pacific) women being confined to the domestic sphere, and/or their lack of involvement and representation in the political arena (Faletau, 1982:45; Halaituituia, Latu and Moimoi, 1982:16-17; Naufahu, 1994:4). Yet we must not overlook the significance of the public character of women's roles in the presentation of gifts and maintenance of Tongan social life (see Cowling, 1990a:294), nor the sacred authority and influence of women as sisters, through the *fahu* system and their reproductive roles, which some believe parallel the political and decision-making authority of men (although contested and changing).¹³⁴ These considerations, and the performative aspect of Tongan social relations, challenge the distinctions between public/private, mainstream/ethnic, men/women arguably characterising Australia's multicultural society into which Tongan women as migrants enter. As Weiner claimed for Samoan and Trobriand cloth produced by women:

Because the circulation of cloth wealth has political consequences and because women figure in the public aspects of its distribution, cloth and women are an inherent part of political affairs (1989:35).

With Schneider, she further concluded that as such cloth gives women a measure of economic autonomy and even political authority, it renders simplistic and inadequate those dichotomies of women's and men's opposition, such as domestic versus public

(1989:25). These considerations have important ramifications for the representation of Tongan women in Australia.

The *koka'anga* and presentation day beg the question of how far were the women representing themselves to themselves (in Cowling's sense), and how far to others? Rather than *ngatu* marking the significance of an occasion, the presentation day marked the significance of *ngatu* in Canberra. It was an opportunity for the women to reaffirm their identity as Tongan women and makers of *ngatu*. It also enabled them to present to the Princess the products of their labour, and to represent themselves to the state in a public sphere, by giving their *ngatu* as always upwards to royalty, the church and the state. Some months later, they published articles and photographs in Tongan newspapers on the making of *ngatu pālāngi* in Canberra, thereby representing themselves to Tonga and other diasporic Tongans (see Appendix 5). An article in the Tongan Chronicle highlighted how the task of making *ngatu* in *Kenipela* (Canberra), once thought as impossible, has now happened (19 March, 1998).

Like some women in Tonga who make mats, *ngatu* and other items to enter into the economic and tourism markets, (such as through Langa Fonua and craft coops on Ha'apai), we have seen in chapter five that Canberra women are embracing the cultural terrain as a way of entering the local political field through the Association. They are leaders in securing government funding to make dance costumes and other items of cultural capital, as a result of finding ways to fulfil their cultural responsibilities as Tongan women. This has enabled them to begin representing themselves in the local political arena through *Loto Taha* and the ethnic community, where the giving of *ngatu* to a state official on the presentation day provides an apt example. They take pride in knowing that their Canberra *ngatu* hangs prominently in the Chief Minister's department. However at this stage their representation of themselves to others is very fragile, still led by women of rank or of church status, still

culturally based, and still confined to the ethnic community. Women are not well represented on matters such as economic participation, domestic violence, discrimination, health and child care. In this sense the women/ethnic/private alignment finds legitimacy for Tongan women in Canberra, where they have less power in representing these 'private' issues than they do in representing aspects of Tongan culture in a public sphere.

Voice

Aligned to questions of representation are those of voice, as Bottomley's summarised: who speaks, who hears, what do they hear, and what do they do (1997:47)? As we have seen, women do have a voice in areas of public community concern, such as the cultural upbringing of children, and identity maintenance overseas. They are active participants and interlocutors on local multicultural issues, and frequently represent the community through liaison with official visitors from Tonga. But women (and men) of rank, church status, and higher educational backgrounds articulate their 'voice', rather than the stereotypical middle aged patriarchal ethnic males imagined in chapter two. While they speak of issues affecting the 'grassroots' of the Tongan community in Canberra, they are not always *at* the grassroots of Tongan hierarchy. The formal speeches representing the ideals of the Tongan community from which I have quoted throughout the thesis have been delivered by members of the royal family, church leaders, and people elevated to a higher status as a particular occasion demands. This needs balance, by acknowledging the quiet grumblings one can observe behind-the-scenes at many obligatory community gatherings, uttered by the majority of commoners at the grassroots. Here I return to the woman at the *koka'anga* who exclaimed how "crazy" they were to do the

very work in Australia that they escaped from by leaving Tonga, but who felt overwhelming joy and pride once the task was finished.

Yet 'voice' is not always verbal. Women spoke through their *ngatu* by selecting designs and motifs that suited them. Boomerangs symbolised their lives in Australia, while Parliament House for Canberra women, and the Opera House for Sydney women signified the success and pride they felt in living as Tongan women overseas. Borrowing the royal motifs from the newly pressed *kupesi* voiced their elevated sense of pride in producing *ngatu* for the Prince's graduation. Their voice was also visual, as one of their photographs and two of my photographs of the events have become "indigenous text"¹³⁵ through being used by women in the newspaper articles (see example at Appendix 5). It is also notable that while a grassroots voice might be limited in Canberra, it is evident across the Tongan nation through photo-linkages such as these and those I described elsewhere, as well as through some people's clandestine support of the democracy movement in Tonga.

But what was my role in amplifying the voice of Tongan women through recording the two *ngatu* events? Questions of authorship always underpin ethnographical and visual accounts of the 'other' (and as Turner said, of all forms of scholarship (1995:102)). In Australia as elsewhere, Pesman (1992:161) noted that recent writing on Italian women migrants has emphasised activity rather than passivity, with a focus on immigrants as protagonists in their own lives. So too in visual anthropology, Ruby (1995:80) discussed the empowerment of indigenous film-makers to produce films of their own cultures, and the problems of ethnographers' control and influence in enabling them to do so through providing access to the equipment and know-how.

But beyond the "burden of authorship" risking "misrepresenting representation" as Turner (1995:102) cautioned, I must consider such issues when speaking of Tongan

women's voice in these situations. The photo-essay, which many participants want to keep as a record of the occasion, affects the voice of Tongan women in the way I have selected and juxtaposed their comments with quotations from the literature and my field notes. I will conclude with the following challenges to my authorship: Could I have raised the importance of one aspect of the events over another? Or missed important processes altogether? Or provided an 'extra, outside' view to which many of the women uttered "that's true", or "I can relate to that" when reading their comments in this way. How far is the photo-essay my voice and theirs? Is their voice a unified one? I will leave these unanswered, as afterall the only answers I can offer are mine.

¹¹⁴ *Ngatu* is *tapa* that has been painted.

¹¹⁵ *Ngatu pālāngi* was made for the first time in Australia in Dee Why, followed by Manly, and then Canberra. The fourth time was in Brisbane. Lanī's sister was travelling to New Zealand to begin the process there.

¹¹⁶ The table was built using state grants funding.

¹¹⁷ Presentations of *ngatu pālāngi* were made to the following people (all *pālāngi* except for the Princess): the Princess to mark the Prince's up-coming graduation; the City Uniting Church minister for her long association with the Tongans of Canberra; the wife of another church minister; a Canberra nurse for her assistance in organising a shipment of much needed medical supplies to Vaiola Hospital in Tonga (arranged through the *Loto Taha* Women's Association); a representative of the ACT Government's Chief Minister's office to acknowledge state support of the Tongan community; the wife of a Tongan minister for being "one of us"; and me.

¹¹⁸ Gailey (1980:301) described *koloa* in pre-contact Tonga as goods produced and gathered by women: "woven mats, bark cloth (*tapa* or *ngatu*), baskets, bags, shellfish, coconut oil, certain 'chiefly' prepared foods, and children. James (1987:33-4), however, later challenged this definition, arguing that *koloa* was not necessarily associated with the feminine gender as a unitary concept because women did not make all Tongan *koloa* and not all goods made by women are *koloa*. Rather, James argued that ocean-going canoes made by men would also have been considered as *koloa* as they fulfilled the "durable" quality of *koloa* items. Yet Helu's interpretation of *koloa* calls this into question, as he defined *koloa* as "non-functional wealth objects (mats, barkcloth etc.)" which are produced for exchange (1992:7, 9). Canoes, war-clubs and such, although durable, were not *koloa* as they did not fulfil the exchange criterion.

¹¹⁹ Morton, however, said that *koloa* is seldom exchanged after childbirth today, claiming that exchanges at the christening are more important (1996:50). She also noted that sometimes *koloa* is exchanged between 'visiting' and 'home' inter-school or inter-village basketball teams prior to playing (1996:153).

¹²⁰ Cowling (1990a:280) described men's work, such as the production of kava, and raw and cooked foods, as well as their activities at public occasions (including oratory), as being complementary to women's work in the perpetuation of traditional rituals and maintenance of kinship.

¹²¹ Small (1997:32-35) described how *tapa* cloth was once the exclusive possession of chiefly women for whom commoner women would make cloth. At the turn of the Century, *kautaha*'s developed as the rights and interests of chiefs in commoners production began to wane. The *kautaha* in this sense was a "cooperative commoner group for making *tapa*". While these were initially nominally headed by a chiefly woman, increasingly commoner women assumed full functioning of the groups. Yet *kautaha* members were senior women or women of rank, as the ability to make and own *tapa* was a result and symbol of prestige. *Kautaha* membership could cross generations as members collected sufficient beaten bast to hold a *koka'anga*, which was held with accompanying feasting and kava drinking by men. However in the 1950s and 1960s Small said these *kautaha*'s began to die out. Instead, a "rotating" form of *tapa*-making emerged in which men no longer participated, feasting ceased, and production rates amongst groups of women increased. Small described these three shifts in *tapa* making process as those of democratising and monetising, and being "based less on status than on financial means".

¹²² Both James (1993b:230) and Cowling (1994:8) observed the market sale by women of unprocessed paper mulberry bark to other women who do not have access to these raw materials, or the time to prepare them. James added that some women are planting *hiapo* around their houses both for their own use and as a cash crop.

¹²³ See Small (1995) on early exchanges of mats, *tapa*, and specialty items such as perfumed oil and parrot feathers between women of different islands in Tonga. Also her account of early mat-*tapa* exchanges between women's groups in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa.

¹²⁴ See for example, Small's note that changes in design, colour and technique can be traced back to the nineteenth century, including the former use of three layers instead of the two we see today. See also her reference to Tamahori (1963) for further background details (1997:32).

¹²⁵ They explained to me that the "half-caste" quality was a direct result of joining Western and Tongan materials in the same way, they said, as I am "half-caste Scottish."

¹²⁶ His main aim was to speed-up this most time-consuming stage of *tapa*-making, which can take around a year to complete.

¹²⁷ During the *koka'anga* in Canberra, some women were surprised to see women of chiefly status involving themselves in this "hard-work" when it was not necessary.

¹²⁸ Comparing a well-known department store with a well-known bargain store in Australia.

¹²⁹ Primarily social value, although also in monetary value. However Cowling (1990a:281) described the value endowed in *koloa* "through a recognition of the amount of labour time involved in production, skill in the execution, design choice and by its historicity and through the reproduction of ancient designs and patterns".

¹³⁰ See James (1987:34) on some items being *koloa* and others not; Weiner (1989), on the different values of Samoan mats due to age, ownership, purpose; and Cowling (1990a:272) on how some goods are immediately put to use, while only the finest are offered in recognition of the receiver or what they represent.

¹³¹ Contrary to Gailey's view, James also highlighted two other important possibilities: that Tongans of lower orders have increasingly come to retain greater control over the goods they produce, and that now the maker's identities are distinctively marked in their cloth, rather than those of their former chiefly rulers, through the *kupesi* they design with personal meanings.

¹³² Alluding to Anderson's concept of an 'imagined community' or nation, characterised by a "deep, horizontal comradeship" and the notion that "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1983:15-16).

¹³³ Cowling (1990a: 284) noted that men effectively free up women's time to make *ngatu* and mats due to the importance of the family having them.

¹³⁴ See James (1983, 1995). I have been told that the women's movement in Tonga is paralleling the democracy movement. In this some women claim that the sacredness of women is used to ensure their subservience to men.

¹³⁵ Gell (1994:369) used the term "indigenous text" to describe the wedding videos of South Asians in Bedford UK. She said they gave excellent insights into the cultural and symbolic priorities of marriage celebrants for her consideration of registry and religious marriages overseas. While I took most of the photographs of the *ngatu* events, the women selected which photographs they wanted to use and wrote the associated text for the newspaper articles, thereby making them "indigenous text", and Tongan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: HOME, HOST AND HEAVEN

Samoans and Tongans conceived of their islands as a complete universe of sea and lands, contained by the dome of the sky and divided into invisible layers containing the living places of gods. Below the sea was the realm of *Pulotu*, entered by the spirits of the aristocratic dead through an entrance under the sea, off the westernmost shore of the islands. They called the strangers *papālangi*, meaning 'sky bursters': when the strange ships sailed across the horizon, their utter unfamiliarity caused Islanders to suppose that they must have burst through the dome of heaven (Meleisea and Schoeffel, 1997:119).

The representation of contemporary Tongan migration as an extension of ancient voyaging is a dominant theme carrying us through to the next millenium. Indeed in the 80th birthday celebrations of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV in July 1998, references to Tongans voyaging into the 21st century were evident in public displays and songs that acknowledged his continued leadership of Tonga. But today, of vital concern is where these voyages lead Tongans, the kinds of linkages they will maintain with Tonga, and how they negotiate the challenges presented through their culture in migration. For some, the voyage will never end as they move from one place to the next seeking a better life. Yet Tongans have moved far beyond searching for 'heaven' in their migration, as the prevalence of migration in Tongan culture has brought alternative ways to live as a Tongan in greater Oceania that Tongans pursue with varying degrees of necessity. The close of the 20th century has also seen the development of new and sophisticated forms of Tongan voyaging, such as through the Internet and international financial linkages.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this thesis I have attempted to convey a more dynamic, processual account of migration and women as migrants, taking account of the importance of specificity of time, history, place and context. I firmly believe that while there are many accounts of issues faced by women in Tonga through migration, conclusions cannot be drawn about 'status or subjugation' based on applying what is happening in one state to another. Women's experiences overseas are different because the context created through migration is different; the 'system' is different – it is still experienced, but experienced differently. Specificity is vital. Hence the challenge to look at the 'Tongan way' elsewhere to see if more general conclusions can be drawn, rather than starting from generalist presumptions and applying them to local situations.

As other current research on the Tongan diaspora is being completed, it would be useful to conduct a comparative analysis of life overseas for Tongan migrants. How far is their settlement affected by overriding state immigration and diversity policies, and historical factors such as their place within the dominant and indigenous populations? Can we detect similar processes or practices that characterise Tongan communities elsewhere? Do Tongans invoke specific relationships with family and others for migratory purposes, and if so, what are the effects on Tongan socialisation? Why do Tongans conclude that Tongans anywhere are more Tongan than Tongans in Tonga? In this thesis we have seen that in the face of change, challenge or newness, Tongans often invoke the binary measure of what is rightfully Tongan and what is foreign at a given point in time. Tongans overseas sometimes appear more Tongan because they need to be more obviously Tongan:– to perform more often, to sing more loudly and to emphasise conscious codifications of being Tongan overseas in case they might lose what it is to be Tongan. Each person adjusts and finds their own way of living as Tongans. Mafi realised she was a Tongan on two poignant occasions, firstly

when there were no other Tongans around her, and again when she was 're-united' with Tongans in Canberra. Further research on these enormous questions would provide greater insights into these complex and highly specific processes.

I indicated earlier the merit I see in pursuing alternative forms of research on Tongans overseas through the use of visual media. With the tyranny of distance from Tonga we are now seeing Canberra Tongans adopting new ways of teaching and learning Tongan culture in a diasporic setting. Video and photography are becoming increasingly important not only as instructional media for children attending the Tongan language and dance schools, but also for adults who wish to practice the "proper" forms of a dance. I have been asked for copies of my transcribing videos because I happened to capture the moves of an important dance that the participants had forgotten how to perform. Responses to visual media, the use of media by Tongans and by researchers, and concomitant challenges to what is important in a photograph, all provide a wealth of untapped research on the Tongan diaspora. I have learnt through taking video that at a birthday it is far more important to photograph the food than the *ngatu pālangi* hanging on the wall, or the guests attending the celebration. Of particular interest to me is the juxtaposition of our photographs with those taken by Tongans themselves in the form of 'indigenous text', as seen in the *ngatu pālangi* article.

I am aware that a significant proportion of the community has remained silent in this thesis, namely those Tongan and half-Tongan children and youth who were born in Australia. These 'next generations' of children and grandchildren represent around 58% of the Canberra community, in comparison to their migrant parents who represent only 30% of the community that has grown around them. Youth and children are not only significant in number, but as we have seen, they collectively present significant issues for their parents to manage. My observations are that many

young Tongans are proud of their Tongan linkages, while others are more ambivalent in their attitudes. Young women who described their parents' Tongan activities as "boring" will then be seen dancing a *tau'olunga* at a celebratory occasion. Some are more openly resentful of the restrictions placed upon them by their parents. In informal conversations I had with teenage Tongans I sensed the effects upon them of the confusion and pressures on their parents to live as Tongans overseas. I once sat next to a teenage girl who was sitting alone on the stairs outside a Tongan function. When I asked her name she replied, "which one? My Australian name is Cathy, but when I'm around them (pointing inside to the adults) I'm 'Ana. The won't call me by my Australian name."

How far their reactions can be essentialised as "teenage" behaviour, and how far as young Tongans adjusting to the challenges of living in their parents' culture overseas, is a vital question. I hypothesise that now teenage children have felt the furore of these negotiations, more so than younger children who are perhaps given more freedom and less discipline than their older brothers and sisters. Frequent requests from guest speakers at Tongan functions for parents to control their children provide one example. In particular, it would be interesting to see further research conducted on aspects of cultural transmission to children, such as the presentation of Tongan culture in public events and the effects upon children who were sent home to Tonga. How do these images and practices affect children's understanding of their culture? Beyond furthering academic pursuits, Tongan parents have expressed to me that conducting such research on their children would greatly assist them in understanding and dealing with the various issues of culture, identity and the future, with which they are constantly grappling.

Epilogue: The Voyage Continues

As for the first, the last word in this thesis belongs to Mafi. In 1994 I asked Mafi "what did you think living overseas would be like?" "I thought it would be heaven" she replied. Some three and a half years later at the beginning of 1998 I reminded Mafi of the answer she had given and asked, "Well, was it heaven after all?" To me her answer captured the spirit of Tongan voyaging across all of those implied boundaries of migration, gender and community: "Yes" she said, "it still is heaven. If I move somewhere else that will be heaven too. Heaven is in me!"

APPENDIX 1

1. GENERAL

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|
| 1.1 | Sex:
<i>Tangata / Fefine</i> | 1.7 | Last Country of Residence:
<i>Fonua ne ke nofo fakamuimui ai</i> |
| 1.2 | Age:
<i>Tau motu'a</i> | 1.8 | Spouse Nationality:
<i>Tangata'i fonua ho mali'</i> |
| 1.3 | Marital Status:
<i>Te'eki mali/mali/māvae/uitou</i> | 1.9 | Length of Stay:
<i>Loloa ho'o nofo</i> |
| 1.4 | Level of Education:
<i>Tu'unga fakaako</i> | 1.10 | Age Leaving Tonga:
<i>Tau motu'a neke mavahe ai mei Tonga</i> |
| 1.5 | Place of Birth :
<i>Fa'ele'i 'i fē</i> | 1.11 | Usual Place of Residence in Tonga:
<i>Nofo 'i fē 'i Tonga</i> |
| 1.6 | City of Residence in Australia:
<i>Kolo'i 'Aositelēlia</i> | 1.12 | Place of Education:
<i>Fonua na'a ke ako ai</i> |

2. MIGRATION

- 2.1 Reason for moving to Australia?
'Uhinga ho'o ha'u ki 'Aositelēlia?
- 2.2 Did any particular person encourage you to move?
Ne 'i ai ha tokotaha na'a ne fakalotolahi 'i koe keke ha'u?
- 2.3 What was your role in deciding to move?
Koe ha'a e tu'utu 'uni na'a ke fai kiate koe keke ha'u?
- 2.4 What did you think living overseas would be like?
Koe ha ho'o fakakaūkau ki he anga ō e nofo muli?
- 2.5 Have you lived in other countries before coming to Australia?
Kuo ke'osi ei ha fonua muli kimu'a pea ke toki ha'u ki 'Aositelēlia ni?
- 2.6 In which city in Australia did you first live?
'Koe fē vahefonua na'a ke fuofua nofo ai 'i 'Aositelēlia ni?
- 2.7 Most helpful person when you first arrived and why?
Ko hai na'e tokoni ofi kiate ko e ho'o fuofua a'u mai ki 'Aositelēlia ni? Koe hā hono 'uhinga?
- 2.8 Would you like to return to Tonga one day to live?
'Oku ke sai'ia pē keke toe foki ki Tonga hā 'aho?

3. OCCUPATION/JOB

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 3.1 | Name of Job:
<i>Hingoa 'oe ngāue</i> | Paid/Unpaid:
<i>Totongi / Ta'e totongi</i> |
| | Hours (F/T, P/T, casual):
<i>Taimi kakato / konga 'aho / ngaue talitali</i> | Length of Job:
<i>Loloa ho'o ngāue</i> |

- 3.2 How did you get your present job?
Ne anga fēfē 'a e mā'u ho'o ngāue?
- 3.3 Disadvantages/Advantages of being a Tongan at the work place:
Kovi / Lelei 'o 'ete Tonga 'i he ngaue'anga
- 3.4 Any discrimination?
'Oku 'i ai nai ha fesiosiofaki fakamatakali?

4. RELIGION

- 4.1 Present Religion: *Siasi lolotonga* Past Religion: *Siasi kimu'a*
- 4.2 How often do you attend Church?
'Oku tu'o fiha 'a ho'o alu ki he lotu?
- 4.3 Do you attend any special Tongan services?
'Oku ke 'alu nai ki ha lotu makehe faka -Tonga?
- 4.4 Church activities you are involved in:
Ngaahi polokalama makehe 'o e siasi 'oku ke kau ki ai:

5. FAMILY

- 5.1 Family Membership / Country of Residence:
Fāmili / Nofo 'i fē
- | | |
|--|---|
| - Parents
<i>Ongo mātu'a</i> | - Children (✓ those adopted)
<i>Fanau pusi aki</i> |
| - Brothers
<i>Tokoua / tuonga'ane</i> | - Others
<i>Fanau kehe</i> |
| - Sisters
<i>Tokoua / tuofefine</i> | |
- 5.2 Do you have any family in Tonga?
'Oku 'i ai ha'o fāmili 'i Tonga?
- 5.3 If yes, how often do you visit your family in Tonga?
Kapau 'io, 'oku ke 'alu tu'ofiha ki ai?
- 5.4 How often do you ring or write to your family in Tonga?
'Oku ke telefoni / tohi tuofiha ki ai?
- 5.5 Who do you always telephone in the Tongan household?
Ko kai 'oku ke fa'a telefoni ki ai 'i ho'o fāmili 'i Tonga
- 5.6 Who in your household rings home the most? How often?
Ko hai 'oku fa'a telefoni ki Tonga 'i ho'omou 'api'? Tuo fiha ?
- 5.7 Is your family in Tonga expecting you to return to Tonga? When?
'Oku 'amanaki mai nai ho fāmili mei Tonga teke foki ange? A fē?
- 5.8 List all the items you always send home and how often:
Hiki ange a e ngaahi me'a 'oku ke 'ave mā'u pe ki Tonga? Tuō fiha?

- 5.9 List the items sent to you from Tonga. How often are they sent to you?
Hiki ange 'a e ngaahi me'a 'oku 'omai mei Tonga. 'O mai tuō fiha?
- 5.10 Household Composition:
 - Person
Persona
 - Age
Tau motu'a
 - How long have they lived with you?
Koe ha ā e lōlōa ho'omou nofo?
- 5.11 Who normally does the following tasks at home?
Ko hai oku ne fa'ae ngāue ko 'eni' 'i ho'omou 'api?
- | | |
|--|--|
| - Cooking:
<i>Feihaka</i> | - Cleaning:
<i>Fakama'a 'api</i> |
| - Dish washing:
<i>Fulfulu 'ume'a</i> | - Clothes washing:
<i>Fō</i> |
| - Shopping:
<i>Fakatau</i> | - Gardening:
<i>Ta'a ta'aki ngoue</i> |
- 5.12 If you are married to, or intending to marry a non-Tongan person what did your family say?
Koe ha ā e lau ā ho'a famili kapau 'oku'i kai teke mali Tonga pē 'amanaki mali mo ha taha 'oku 'ikai ko ha Tonga?

6. YOUR CHILD'S EDUCATION

- 6.1 Children (Age/Sex):
Fanau (Ta'u motua, Fefine / Tangata)
- School Attendance? (Yes/No)
Lolotonga ako ('lo / 'Ikai)
- Child Minders? (if no)
Ko hai 'oku ne tokangai 'kapau 'oku 'i kai ako
- 6.2 Any conflict between you and the teacher/child minder about the discipline of your children?
'Oku 'i ai nai ha taimi ta'efemahino 'aki 'iate koe moe faiako' 'i hono āko 'i ho fanau'?
- 6.3 Have your children been teased because they are Tongan?
Kuo'osi ngaohi kovi 'i ho'o fanau' koe'uhi' ko'enu Tonga'?

7. OTHER

- 7.1 Local Welfare Services: Used? Frequency? If no, why?
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| - Hospital | - Other Migrant Advice Services | - Youth Services |
| - C.E.S. | - Aged Services | - Family Services |
| - Migrant Resource Centre | - Social Security | - Other? |
- 7.2 How often do you obtain mats, tapa and handcrafts from Tonga to use in Australia?
'Oku 'omai tu'ofiha haofala, ta'ovala, ngatu pē me'a fakamea'a mei Tonga?

- 7.3 What do you use the mats, tapa and handicrafts for in Australia?
'Oku ke ngaue'aki ia ki he hā?
- 7.4 What do you send to Tonga in return for these items?
Koe hā ae meā 'oku ke 'ave ki Tonga koe'uhi koe ngaahi me'a ko'eni ne 'omai?
- 7.5 Who do you obtain these items from in Tonga?
Koe 'omai' meia hai?
- 7.6 What do you like the most about Australia?
Koe ha ae me'a 'oku ke sai'ia taha ai 'i 'Aositelēlia 'ni?
- 7.7 What do you dislike the most about Australia?
Koe ha 'ae me'a 'oku 'ikai teke sai'ia ai 'i 'Aositelēlia 'ni?
- 7.8 Do you think Tonga has changed since you left? How?
'Oku ke pehe nai 'oku 'i ai ha liliu 'i Tonga talu ho'o ha'u? 'O anga fefe?
- 7.9 What do you miss the most about Tonga?
Koe ha ae me'a he 'ikaingalo ia 'iate koe 'i Tonga?

8. CULTURE¹

- 8.1 What aspects of *anga fakatonga* (Tongan way) do you feel should be retained in Australia?
- 8.2 Which aspects should no longer be retained in Australia?
- 8.3 What aspects of Tongan culture are practised at home?
- 8.4 What aspects are not practised at home?
- 8.5 Languages spoken at home:
- Parents: - Children:

Malo 'aupito

¹ Section 8 was included in later surveys and respondents did not require translation into Tongan.

APPENDIX 2

SETTLER ARRIVALS

1996/97

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 4 years	-	3	-	4	-	7
5 - 9 years	-	1	-	6	-	7
10 - 14 years	-	7	-	10	-	17
15 - 19 years	-	10	-	7	-	17
20 - 24 years	-	7	-	6	-	13
25 - 29 years	-	12	-	25	-	37
30 - 34 years	-	16	-	6	-	22
35 - 39 years	-	10	-	9	-	19
40 - 44 years	-	4	-	4	-	8
45 - 49 years	-	-	-	3	-	3
50 - 54 years	-	3	-	2	-	5
55 - 59 years	-	1	-	1	-	2
60 - 64 years	-	2	-	1	-	3
65 years plus	-	2	-	4	-	6
TOTAL	-	78	-	88	-	166

1995/96

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 4 years	1	3	-	6	1	9
5 - 9 years	-	2	-	7	-	9
10 - 14 years	-	5	-	3	-	8
15 - 19 years	-	4	-	7	-	11
20 - 24 years	-	12	1	12	1	24
25 - 29 years	-	35	-	21	-	56
30 - 34 years	-	13	-	12	-	25
35 - 39 years	-	6	-	6	-	12
40 - 44 years	-	4	-	5	-	9
45 - 49 years	-	5	-	4	-	9
50 - 54 years	-	2	-	1	-	3
55 - 59 years	-	1	-	-	-	1
60 - 64 years	-	-	-	1	-	1
65 years plus	-	1	-	1	-	2
TOTAL	1	93	1	86	2	179

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

SETTLER ARRIVALS**1994/95**

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 4 years	-	2	-	-	-	2
5 - 9 years	-	2	-	1	-	3
10 - 14 years	-	6	-	8	-	14
15 - 19 years	-	9	-	3	-	12
20 - 24 years	-	8	-	7	-	15
25 - 29 years	-	18	-	13	-	31
30 - 34 years	-	14	-	9	-	23
35 - 39 years	-	5	-	4	-	9
40 - 44 years	-	1	-	-	-	1
45 - 49 years	-	-	-	2	-	2
50 - 54 years	-	2	-	1	-	3
55 - 59 years	-	1	-	1	-	2
60 - 64 years	-	-	-	1	-	1
65 years plus	-	2	-	4	-	6
TOTAL	-	70	-	54	-	124

1993/94

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 4 years	-	4	-	7	-	11
5 - 9 years	-	5	-	3	-	8
10 - 14 years	-	6	-	8	-	14
15 - 19 years	-	1	-	6	-	7
20 - 24 years	-	11	1	12	1	23
25 - 29 years	-	15	-	8	-	23
30 - 34 years	-	5	-	4	-	9
35 - 39 years	-	3	-	4	-	7
40 - 44 years	-	3	-	3	-	6
45 - 49 years	-	2	-	1	-	3
50 - 54 years	-	-	-	1	-	1
55 - 59 years	-	1	-	-	-	1
60 - 64 years	-	-	-	2	-	2
65 years plus	-	1	-	2	-	3
TOTAL	-	57	1	61	1	118

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE ARRIVALS*

1996/97

	TONGAN BORN					
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
5 - 9 years	-	1	-	-	-	1
10 - 14 years	-	-	-	*1	-	*1
15 - 19 years	-	8	-	-	-	8
20 - 24 years	*11	*52	-	*26	*11	*77
25 - 29 years	-	*17	-	-	-	*17
30 - 34 years	-	-	-	*1	-	1
35 - 39 years	-	*11	-	*1	-	*12
40 - 44 years	-	*16	-	-	-	*16
50 - 54 years	-	*10	-	-	-	*10
55 - 59 years	-	-	-	*10	-	*10
60 - 64 years	*10	*10	-	-	*10	*10
65 years plus	-	*2	-	-	-	*2
TOTAL	*20	*127	-	*39	*20	*166

1995/96

	TONGAN BORN					
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
5 - 9 years	-	2	-	*1	-	*3
10 - 14 years	-	3	-	-	-	3
15 - 19 years	-	8	-	1	-	9
20 - 24 years	*11	*45	-	3	*11	*48
25 - 29 years	-	*2	-	*10	-	*12
30 - 34 years	-	*2	-	*1	-	*3
35 - 39 years	-	1	-	*3	-	*4
40 - 44 years	-	*22	-	*1	-	*23
50 - 54 years	-	-	-	1	-	1
55 - 59 years	-	*10	-	1	-	*11
60 - 64 years	-	1	-	-	-	1
65 years plus	-	1	-	*1	-	*2
TOTAL	*11	*97	-	*23	*11	*119

*All tables contain figures which are subject to sampling variability too high for most practical purposes.

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

VISITOR ARRIVALS***1996/97**

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 9 years	-	*100	-	*71	-	*172
10 - 19 years	*10	*232	-	*132	*10	363
20 - 29 years	*10	585	1	443	*11	1,029
30 - 39 years	-	527	1	306	1	833
40 - 49 years	-	371	*10	*150	*10	521
50 - 59 years	-	*129	-	*190	-	319
60 years plus	-	*246	-	*208	-	455
TOTAL	*20	2,191	*12	1,501	*32	3,692

1995/96

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 9 years	-	*49	-	*39	-	*87
10 - 19 years	*9	*147	-	*129	*9	*276
20 - 29 years	-	352	-	422	-	774
30 - 39 years	-	404	-	336	-	740
40 - 49 years	-	*241	-	*236	-	477
50 - 59 years	-	*180	-	*221	-	401
60 years plus	*10	*279	-	*234	*10	513
TOTAL	*19	1,652	-	1,617	*19	3,270

1994/95

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 - 9 years	-	*70	*10	*60	*10	*130
10 - 19 years	-	*71	-	*78	-	*149
20 - 29 years	*19	*272	-	*243	*19	515
30 - 39 years	*20	313	-	*232	*20	545
40 - 49 years	-	*212	-	*206	-	417
50 - 59 years	-	*202	*10	*217	*10	419
60 years plus	-	*111	-	*111	-	*223
TOTAL	*39	1,251	*20	1,147	*59	2,398

*All tables contain figures which are subject to sampling variability too high for most practical purposes.

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

STUDENT ARRIVALS***1996/97**

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 – 14 years	-	*24	-	13	-	*37
15 – 19 years	-	*8	-	6	-	*14
20 – 24 years	1	*32	*1	*21	*2	*53
25 – 29 years	*1	*34	1	9	*2	*43
30 – 34 years	2	*24	*2	*10	*4	*34
35 – 39 years	*2	*4	-	*26	*2	*30
40 years plus	*10	*26	*3	*15	*13	*40
TOTAL	*16	*152	*7	*100	*23	*251

1995/96

TONGAN BORN						
	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS	
	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA	ACT	AUSTRALIA
0 – 14 years	-	*27	-	*13	-	*40
15 – 19 years	-	*18	*2	*28	*2	*46
20 – 24 years	4	*19	2	*17	*6	*36
25 – 29 years	-	*9	*3	*31	*3	*40
30 – 34 years	-	*18	1	*7	1	*25
35 – 39 years	-	*13	-	*12	-	*25
40 years plus	-	*9	*10	*24	*10	*33
TOTAL	*4	*113	*18	*133	*22	*245

*All tables contain figures which are subject to sampling variability too high for most practical purposes.

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

EARLIER ARRIVALS

Trans-Tasman Arrivals By Country of Birth: Tonga, and By Movement Category

	Settlers	Long Term Visitors	Long Term Residents	Total Perm. & Long. Term	Short Term Visitors	Short Residents Term
Tonga 1980s	285	277	56	618	4184	1877

Source: Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, in Carmichael (1993)

Settler Arrivals By Country of Birth: Tonga, By Sex and By Eligibility Category

	Family Migration		Skill Migration				Other Visaed		Non Visaed		Total
	Pre-ferential	Con-cessional	Emp-loy-ment	Bus-iness	Spec. Tal-ents	Inde-pend-ent	Spec. Eligi-bility	Other	NZ - Citiz-en	Other Non-Vis'd	
1991/1992 Male	24	2	5	-	-	-	1	3	12	2	49
1991/1992 Female	33	5	1	-	-	-	1	7	7	3	57
1992/1993 Male	53	1	-	-	-	2	2	5	20	1	84
1992/1993 Female	51	-	-	-	-	5	-	3	18	-	77

Source: Bureau of Immigration Research

NOTE: No Tongan Settlers entered Australia under the "Humanitarian" eligibility category for the period 1990-1993.

APPENDIX 3

THE TONGAN ASSOCIATION OF CANBERRA & QUEANBEYAN

C O N S T I T U T I O N

1 NAME

The name of this Association is the "TONGAN ASSOCIATION OF CANBERRA & QUEANBEYAN"

2 AIMS:

The aims of the Association are:

- (A) To encourage close and warm relationships among members of the Tongan community in Canberra & Queanbeyan.
- (B) To provide counselling and liaison services to assist members with major resettlement problems in this country.
- (C) To provide liaison between the Association and the Department of Immigration and State/Federal Ethnic Affairs bodies.
- (D) To ensure that the rights of members of the Association are protected.
- (E) To promote the idea of the development of a multi-cultural society in Australia.

3 MEMBERSHIP

(a) Any member of the Tongan community (full Tongan or part Tongan) or members of any other race in Canberra & Queanbeyan who pays membership fees;

(b) The annual fee shall be \$10.00 per family (which comprised of parents and children under the age of 18); \$5.00 for salaried persons; \$2.50 for students and unsalaried persons;

(c) A register of members shall be kept showing name, address and date of commencement of membership.

4

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) The management of the Association shall be vested in an Executive Committee consisting of the office bearers of the Association, the current President of the Canberra Association of Tongan Students, and not more than ten (10) other members;

(b) The Executive Committee shall take care of the administration of the Association;

(c) The Executive Committee shall meet as it thinks fit, and six (6) members of the Executive Committee, of whom one shall be either the President or the Vice-President, shall form a quorum;

(d) The President may at any time, summon a meeting of the Committee, or on the request of any six (6) members of the Executive Committee;

(e) Matters discussed at any meeting of the Executive Committee shall be decided by a majority vote;

(f) The Executive Committee has the authority to appoint a member of the Association to fill any vacancy in the Committee that may arise

5

OFFICE BEARERS

(a) The office bearers shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer, and the Convenors and Secretaries of sub-committees (when required);

(b) The President of the Association must be a person of Tongan descent;

(c) Three-quarters of the office bearers must be persons of Tongan descent;

(d) Any vacancy occurring among in the Executive Committee may be filled by the Committee, and the person so appointed shall hold office for the unexpired term of the member so replaced.

6

VACATION OF OFFICE

The office of a member of the Executive Committee or of a Trustee shall become vacant:

- (a) Upon his/her decease;
- (b) If he/she becomes mentally ill;
- (c) If he/she resigns his/her office;
- (d) If he/she is absent for more than four (4) consecutive meetings without explanation;
- (e) If he/she ceases to be a member of the Association;

7

GENERAL MEETING

(a) The members of the Association shall meet at least once a year in the Annual General Meeting in the month of March;

(b) The Secretary shall give at least one (1) month's notice in writing, specifying the place, the day and the hour of the meeting and the general nature of the business to be dealt with at the meeting;

(c) The Executive Committee may at any time convene a Special General Meeting.

(d) Procedure at General Meeting:

(i) The President of the Association shall preside as Chairperson at every General Meeting but if he/she is not present within thirty minutes after the time appointed for the holding of the meeting, or is unwilling to act, then the Vice-President shall preside. If the Vice-President is also absent, then the members of the Electoral Committee may elect one of their number to be Chairperson of the meeting;

(ii) At any General Meeting a resolution put to the vote of a meeting shall be decided on a show of hands unless a secret ballot is demanded by the Chairperson or by at least six (6) members of the Association present;

(iii) In the case of equality of votes, the Chairperson of the meeting shall be entitled to a casting vote;

(iv) No member shall be entitled to a vote at any General Meeting if the annual subscription due is in arrears.

8 QUORUM

At a General Meeting the quorum shall be one-third of membership. Should within thirty minutes of the time set down for a General Meeting, or the Executive Committee to commence, a quorum not be present, then the meeting shall be adjourned to the same time and place seven (7) days later.

If at such adjourned meeting a quorum be not present, then those members present shall be deemed to be a quorum, provided the number present is not less than a quarter (1/4) of its members.

9 SUB-COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee may appoint any number of sub-committees. Each sub-committee shall consist of a Convenor and a Secretary and any other members appointed by the Executive Committee.

10 ELECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) At the first General Meeting and at the Annual General Meeting each year thereafter, the office bearers and other members of the Executive Committee shall be elected from amongst the members;

(b) Any two (2) members shall be at liberty to nominate any other member to serve as an office bearer or member of the Executive Committee;

(c) Three (3) sets of balloting paper shall be prepared:

(i) one for the President and the Vice-President;

(ii) one for the other office bearers;

(iii) one for the other members.

(d) If there is only one (1) nomination for any of the positions, the nominee shall be declared elected;

11 FINANCIAL YEAR

The financial year shall be from March to February of the following year.

12 FUNDS

(a) The funds of the Association shall be derived from entrance fees and annual subscriptions of members, donations and, subject to any resolution passed by the Association in a General Meeting, and other sources as the Committee determines;

(b) All monies received by the Association shall be deposited intact at the earliest possible date to the credit of the Association's bank account. Receipts for moneys received shall also be issued promptly;

(c) All payments in excess of \$10.00 made by the Association shall be paid by cheque signed by any two (2) of the following: the President, or the Vice-President, and either the Treasurer or the Assistant Treasurer, or the Secretary;

(d) The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the meetings of the Executive Committee and General Meeting.

13 MEMBERS' LIABILITY

The liability of a member to contribute towards the payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association or the costs, charges and expenses of the winding up of the Association is limited to the amount, if any, unpaid by the member in respect of membership of the Association as required by clause 3(b).

14 DISCIPLINE

(a) Where the Committee is of the opinion that a member -

(i) has persistently refused or neglected to comply with a provision of these clauses; or

(ii) has persistently and wilfully acted in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the Association;

the Committee may, by resolution -

(iii) expel the member of the Association; or

(iv) suspend the member from such rights and privileges of membership of the Association as the Committee may determine, for a specified period.

(b) Right to Appeal:

A member may appeal to the Association in a General Meeting against a resolution of the Committee which confirmed under Clause 14(a).

(c) Way of Appeal:

Upon a receipt of an appeal from a member, the Secretary shall notify the Committee which shall convene a General Meeting of the Association to be held.

15 COMMON SEAL

(a) The Common Seal of the Association shall be kept in the custody of the Secretary;

(b) The Common Seal shall not be affixed to any instrument except by the authority of the Committee and the affixation of the Common Seal shall be attested by the signatures of -

- . either of two members of the Committee; or
- . one member of the Committee and of the Secretary.

16 CUSTODY OF BOOKS

The Secretary shall keep in his or her custody or under his or her control, all records, books and other documents relating to the Association.

17 INSPECTION OF BOOKS

The records, books and other documents of the Association shall be open to inspection at a place in the Territory, free of charge, by a member of the Association at a reasonable hour.

18 AUTHORIZATION OF PAYMENT OF ACCOUNTS

All accounts shall be presented to and passed for payment at an Executive Committee Meeting and all details of all such approvals shall be entered in the Minutes Book.

19 AUDIT

(a) The auditor shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting. He/she shall examine all accounts, vouchers, receipt books, etc. and furnish a report thereon to the members of the Annual Meeting.

(b) An auditor shall not be a member of the Executive Committee.

20 MINUTES

Proper Minutes shall be taken of every meeting of the Association. Such Minutes shall be signed by the Chairperson after being approved at a subsequent meeting.

21 TRUSTEES

(a) Three (3) Trustees shall be elected at a General Meeting. The General Meeting may remove any Trustee and elect another in his/her place. In case of urgency, the Executive Committee may appoint a replacement until the next General Meeting.

(b) All property of whatever kind belonging to the Association shall be vested in the Trustees and they shall have the custody of all deeds and documents of title relating to the property of the Association, and shall be responsible for the same, and shall deal with, and expose, of all property of the Association, in accordance with the directions of the Executive Committee provided that such directions are not in violation of the trusts upon which the property is held.

22 DISSOLUTION

(a) The Association shall be dissolved in the event of membership of less than five (5) persons or upon the vote of a three-fourths majority of members present and voting at a Special General Meeting convened to consider such question;

(b) Upon a resolution being passed in accordance with paragraph (a), all assets and funds of the Association in hand shall, after the payment of all expenses and liabilities, be handed over to the "CANBERRA ASSOCIATION OF TONGAN STUDENTS".

23

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

(a) These rules may be amended by a special resolution passed by a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting at any General Meeting at which notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given or at a Special General Meeting convened for such purpose.

(b) The Secretary shall, at least 21 days before the date fixed for the holding of the General Meeting, send to each member of the Association, the intention to propose the resolution as a special resolution.

24

PUBLICITY

All press releases or public statements with regard to the Association are to be made either by, or with the prior approval of, the President of the Association or, in the event that he is unavailable, by or with the prior approval of the Vice-President of the Association or, in the event that he is also unavailable, by or with the prior approval of the Secretary of the Association.

* * * * *

As at 5 September 1994

APPENDIX 4

THE TONGAN ASSOCIATION OF CANBERRA & QUEANBEYAN

C O N S T I T U T I O N

NAME

The name of this Association is the "TONGAN ASSOCIATION OF CANBERRA & QUEANBEYAN"

AIMS:

The aims of the Association are:

- (A) To encourage close and warm relationships among members of the Tongan community in Canberra & Queanbeyan.
- (B) To provide counselling and liaison services to assist members with major resettlement problems in this country.
- (C) To provide liaison between the Association and the Department of Immigration and State/Federal Ethnic Affairs bodies.
- (D) To ensure that the rights of members of the Association are protected.
- (E) To promote the idea of the development of a multi-cultural society in Australia.

MEMBERSHIP

(a) Any member of the Tongan community (full Tongan or part Tongan) or members of any other race in Canberra & Queanbeyan who pays membership fees;

(b) The annual fee shall be \$10.00 per family (which comprised of parents and children under the age of 18); \$5 for salaried persons; \$2.50 for students and unsalaried persons;

(c) A register of members shall be kept showing name, address and date of commencement of membership.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) The management of the Association shall be vested in an Executive Committee consisting of the office bearers of the Association, the current President of the Canberra Association of Tongan Students, a representative member of the "LOTO TAHA" Tongan Women's Fellowship, and not more than ten (10) other members;

(b) The Executive Committee shall take care of the administration of the Association;

(c) The Executive Committee shall meet as it thinks fit, and six (6) members of the Executive Committee, of whom one shall be either the President or the Vice-President, shall form a quorum;

(d) The President may at any time, summon a meeting of the Committee, or on the request of any six (6) members of the Executive Committee;

(e) Matters discussed at any meeting of the Executive Committee shall be decided by a majority vote;

(f) The Executive Committee has the authority to appoint a member of the Association to fill any vacancy in the Committee that may arise.

5 OFFICE BEARERS

(a) His Royal Highness Prince 'Ulukalala-Lavaka-Ata is appointed to the ex-officio position of Honorary PATRON OF THE TONGAN ASSOCIATION, commencing on 1 March 1997.

(b) The office bearers shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer, and the Convenors and Secretaries of sub-committees (when required);

(c) The President of the Association must be a person of Tongan descent;

(d) Three-quarters of the office bearers must be persons of Tongan descent;

(e) Any vacancy occurring in the Executive Committee may be filled by the Committee, and the person so appointed shall hold office for the unexpired term of the member so replaced.

6 VACATION OF OFFICE

The office of a member of the Executive Committee or of a Trustee shall become vacant:

(a) Upon his/her death;

(b) If he/she becomes mentally ill;

(c) If he/she resigns his/her office;

(d) If he/she is absent for more than four (4) consecutive meetings without explanation;

(e) If he/she ceases to be a member of the Association.

7

GENERAL MEETING

(a) The members of the Association shall meet at least once a year in the Annual General Meeting in the month of March;

(b) The Secretary shall give at least one (1) month's notice in writing, specifying the time, the day and the hour of the meeting and the general nature of the business to be dealt with at the meeting;

(c) The Executive Committee may at any time convene a Special General Meeting.

(d) Procedure at a General Meeting:

(i) The President of the Association shall preside as Chairperson at every General Meeting but if he/she is not present within thirty minutes after the time appointed for the holding of the meeting, or is unwilling to act, then the Vice-President shall preside. If the Vice-President is also absent, then the members of the Executive Committee may elect one of their members to be Chairperson of the meeting;

(ii) At any General Meeting, a resolution put to the vote of a meeting shall be decided on a show of hands unless a secret ballot is demanded by the Chairperson or by at least six (6) members of the Association present;

(iii) In the case of equality of votes, the Chairperson of the meeting shall be entitled to a casting vote;

(iv) No member shall be entitled to a vote at any General Meeting if the annual subscription due is in arrears.

8

QUORUM

At a General Meeting the quorum shall be one-third of membership. Should within thirty minutes of the time set down for a General Meeting, or the Executive Committee to commence, a quorum not be present, then the meeting shall be adjourned to the same time and place seven (7) days later.

If at such adjourned meeting a quorum be not present, then those members present shall be deemed to be a quorum, provided the number present is not less than a quarter (1/4) of its members.

9

SUB-COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee may appoint any number of sub-committee. Each sub-committee shall consist of a Convenor and a Secretary and any other members appointed by the Executive Committee.

10

ELECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) At the first General Meeting and at the Annual General Meeting each year thereafter, the office bearers and other members of the Executive Committee shall be elected from amongst the members;

(b) Any two (2) members shall be at liberty to nominate any other member to serve as an office bearer or member of the Executive Committee;

(c) Three (3) sets of balloting paper shall be prepared:

(i) one for the President and the Vice-President;

(ii) one for the other office bearers;

(iii) one for the other members.

(d) If there is only one (1) nomination for any of the positions, the nominee shall be declared elected.

11

FINANCIAL YEAR

The financial year shall be from March to February of the following year.

12

FUNDS

(a) The funds of the Association shall be derived from entrance fees and annual subscriptions of members, donations and, subject to any resolution passed by the Association in a General Meeting, and other sources as the Committee determines;

(b) All monies received by the Association shall be deposited intact at the earliest possible date to the credit of the Association's bank account. Receipts for moneys received shall also be issued promptly;

(c) All payments in excess of \$10.00 made by the Association shall be paid by cheque signed by any two (2) of the following: the President, or the Vice-President, and either the Treasurer or the Assistant Treasurer, or the Secretary;

(d) The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the meetings of the Executive Committee and General Meeting.

13 MEMBERS' LIABILITY

The liability of a member to contribute towards the payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association or the costs, charges and expenses of the winding up of the Association is limited to the amount, if any, unpaid by the member in respect of membership of the Association as required by clause 3(b).

14 DISCIPLINE

(a) Where the Committee is of the opinion that a member -

(i) has persistently refused or neglected to comply with a provision of these clauses: or

(ii) has persistently and wilfully acted in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the Association:

the Committee may, by resolution -

(iii) expel the member of the Association: or

(iv) suspend the member from such rights and privileges of membership of the Association as the Committee may determine, for a specified period.

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* * * * *

The Consitution as it stands on 14 April 1997

APPENDIX 5

3—KALONIKALI TONGA Ma'asi 19, 1998



'OLUNGA: Ko e taha ena 'o e ngaahi ngatu ne nau koka'i 'aki 'a e kupe'i 'Sisimaile 'o Pilinisi 'Aho'eitu Tuku'aho.

TO'OMATA'U: 'I 'OLUNGA: Ko e Ta'ahine ko Pilinisi Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho, ko e fakafe fakalangilangi 'o e 'aho 'a'ahi 'a e känga Tonga mofo Kenipela.

TO'OMATA'U: Ko Lavinia Naufahu Hausia mo e kau koka'anga 'a Kenipela.



To e malava ke koka'anga 'i Kenipela

Neongo pe 'enau mofo muli 'i Kenipela, 'Aasitefelia ka 'oku nau kei lava pe 'o fakahoko 'a e koka'anga 'e he kulupa 'o e känga Tonga 'i he vahenga Blacktown.

'Oku sea he kulupa ni 'a Vaohi Naufahu, tokoni 'a Sionea Faupula mo e kau mempa fefine 'e toko 21 'o e ngaahi fai'anga lotu Tonga 'i Kenipela, 'a ia na'e nau koka'i ha ngatu laumina 'e 10 'i he fo'i 'aho koka'anga pe 'e fitu 'i he 'api 'o Lusi mo Lili La'ipato.

Na'e faofua fakaboko pe ki he Ta'ahine Pilinisi ko Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho, pea ne lotu lotu pe ki ai, 'o ne mo'a ki hono känga Tonga 'i Kenipela ke nau fai 'a e koka'anga, 'o ne 'ounga 'a 'ene kupe'i ke fai'aki 'a e koka'anga.

Ko e ngua' ni na'e tokoni lahi ki ai 'a 'Amalani Metuisela, Pesalili Fekitoa pehi ki hono leva'i mo fakalele 'o e ngua' 'e Tina Metuisela mo Moleseini Pakilata.

Na'e tokoni'i fakapa'anga e ngua' ni 'e he Australian Council of the Arts, 'a ia ko e to'u 'aki eni 'a 'enau tokoni'i fakapa'anga 'a e ngaahi ngua' pehi' ni.

'Oku fakataumua 'a 'a e tokoni'i fakapa'anga ko eni 'oku fai 'e he Australian Council of the Arts, ke kei pukepuke 'e he kaka Tonga 'enau ngue tukufakaholo fakafoma' hangé koka'anga ngatu' 'oku fai 'e he kaka Tonga, ke 'oua 'e mole kae tu'uholuaki mei he 'aho' ni ki he to'utangata 'o e kaha'u 'a e pote'i nima'esi'.

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